Hot-shot Juventus take spot prize

Martin Thorpe in Rome

UVENTUS may not be revolutionaries but they beat the system last week to lift the European Cup for only the second time. Ajax's method has driven many teams to madness but on a balmy evening in the Olympic Stadium here they were knocked out of their aristocratic stride by an Italian side who wanted victory more and got it, albeit on penalties.

Their fourth, by the substitute Jugovic, took the cup to Turin after two Ajax players, Davids and Silooy. had fluffed theirs. As Jugovic's shot hit the net, the thousands of Juventus fans behind the opposite goal exploded in a sea of flares, flags and

Fabrizio Ravanelli, who had put Juventus shead in the 12th minute, burat into tears. Gianluca Vialli preceded his move to Britain with a waving run in front of the Juventus end. Having surprisingly broken the Milan monopoly in Serie A last season, Juventus had now done what Milan also failed to do last year, beaten Ajax in the final of the Champions' Cup.

Moreover their victory came free

of the awful events of that night in the Heysel stadium in 1985 when they first won the trophy. It gave Italy nine titles to England's eight, the last of the latter being in this same

Cryptic crossword by Crispa

Ajax, the holders, were well chances than the Dutch champions, unleashing 13 shots on goal to six. Ajax, disrupted by injuries and suspensions, were never able to find the speed and accuracy of passing to break free of Juventus's mana-

Vialli was almost the villain of the night and could have spared much anxiety if, four minutes from the end of ordinary time, he had not put a glaring chance into the aide netting after rounding the goalkeeper.

Juventus, starting with fervour, immediately found Ajax uncertain, perhaps missing the reassuring presence of the suspended Reiziger at the back. In the eighth minute Van der Sar failed to hold a 25-yard shot from Torricelli, allowing the fumble to fall to the feet of Ravanelli, who blasted the chance into the flower-bed behind the goal.

Four minutes later the goalkeeper boobed again and there was no reprieve. He came out for a ball that Frank de Boer was shepherding back for him, missed the kick and Ravanelli pounced down the right to slide the ball in from the most acute angle.

The goalkeeper's blushes were slightly reduced when his opposite number committed a comparable blunder five minutes before halftime. Frank de Boer's curling 20stadium in 1984 when Liverpool yard free-kick came straight into the cutting inside the defender to the beat Roma, also 4-2 on penalties.



hall back to Vialli, who mishit his

of catching it. Litmanen, the tournament's leading scorer, fought off Vierchowod and slotted home the ebound to put Ajax level. Ajax's answer to the overall lack

of pressure on Peruzzi's goal was to bring on their troubled young striker Kluivert after half-time. But chances were few, neither side wanting to make more mistakes by being too adventurous. The best chance fell to Juventus: Ravanelli this time beat Bogarde with the ball.

2 Sheep and hares maybe on a

heath (9)
3 Dull child, but game (5)
4 To restrict the drink makes good

5 Left in the bag, which is careless

6 Shedding tears about certain

8 A girl filled with enthusiesm for

14 Where food is provided ties men

16 Allmiting factor when father set

7 An Australian, one with spirit,

20 Turn aside to poke about some

24 The day before is about all right

22 Operative against cutting a

23 Control the beastl (5)

Last week's solution

about breaking mare (9)

interrupting a bore (9)

precious possessions (9) The ear-shell some poor

mermald lost (5)

cotton (abric (7)

the main (3-4)

to call up (5)

craft (7)

ensure fitness (7)

sense (9)

Crackdown on soccer rowdies

Peter Hetherington

OLICE are planning a further crackdown on hundreds of soccer hooligans to prevent violence during the European football championships after a series of dawn raids in the North-east of England last week

Twenty suspected ringleaders of a Newcastle group called the Gremlins were arrested after police burst into 25 houses in lyneside and Durham. Ninetee people were charged with offences, including violent

The police raids came after ioting last month when almost ,000 fans rampaged through

Officers selzed racist and pooligan literature as well as a small arsenal of weapons. Northumbria police are also to release photographs of 200 other wanted men filmed on closed circuit television

Police said that they had gained valuable information on organised networks apparently ent on disrupting Euro 96, which begins next week and con inues until the end of June.

Villa Park, Wembley, Old Trafford and Nottingham's City Ground have been highlighted shot straight at the goalkeeper. One way or another the right side won.

The Guardian Weekly

Vol 154, No 23

Israelis entrust their future to a hawk IRA dashes

Derek Brown in Jerusalem and Martin Walker in Washington

BINYAMIN Netanyahu, derided and dismissed as a lightweight for much of his short political career, staged the biggest political upset in Israel's 48year history last week by snatching the prime ministership from the veteran statesman and Nobel peace aureate, Shimon Peres.

The results from last week's national vote have profound implica-tions for the Middle East peace process, and for Israel's fragile landfor-peace deal with the Palestinians, bitterly criticised by Mr Netanyahu. The Likud leader was finally de-

clared the winner by a margin of less than 1 per cent in the country's first direct election for prime minister. He took 50.4 per cent of the vote, against 49.5 per cent for Mr Peres. At 46, Mr Netanyahu will be Israel's youngest leader.
The final tally of parliamentary

votes gives Labour, still led by Mr Peres, just 34 seats. Likud has been reduced to 32, of which 10 have gone to Mr Netanyahu's electoral allies, Tzomet and Gesher. The third biggest party is the mainly Sephardic (oriental Jewish) Shas, with 10 seats.

Mr Netanyahu will have little difficulty finding the 65 or so members But the price could be high, with the smaller parties demanding their

Mr Peres, aged 72, who has fought five general elections and lost them all, maintained a brave front. He telephoned his vanquisher to congratulate him and said he would continue to campaign for peace, "We shall support the peace

process . . . we shall oppose any attempt to stop it," he said.

On Sunday, Likud leaders began negotiations with potential allies in the Knesset (parliament), which is expected to meet on June 17. That is when Mr Netanyahu hopes to present his new government.

The three religious parties, which have between them 24 Knes-Netanyahu's hopes of a solid major | be a renewed outbreak of the in-

Likud supporters celebrate as Netanyahu edges ahead of Peres in the election

ity in the Knesset. But they will demand at least four ministries. And even with the religious par-

ties on board, Mr Netanyahu will also have to entice into his government at least two smaller centries parties. His most acute problem is that by law he is allowed a maximum of 18 cabinet members.

His first test came on Monday when Israeli troops fought stone-throwing Palestinians in Hebron, sparking fears of another eruption of violence in the West Bank city. Tension has risen sharply in Hepron since last week's election.

Mr Netanyahu said during the campaign that he would not stand by the present Labour govern-ment's commitment to withdraw nost Israeli occupation froops from Hebron by the middle of this month. Palestinian leaders have warned that if the troops stay, there could tifada, the Palestinian uprising

The incident will increase pressure on the Likud leader to stand by the withdrawal agreement, which will leave Israeli forces in Hebron to protect the 400 or so Jewish settlers living among more than 100,000 Palestinians. Israel's closest ally, the United States, has signalled that it too wants the new government t comply with the pullout agreement.

> night to be the leader of Jews and non-Jews slike, and to continue t eek "peace with security" with the Palestinians and his country's other Arab neighbours, In a victory speech laden with reconciliatory rhetoric, but without any specific policy pledges, he said he would work to strengthen Israel's peace deals with Egypt and Jordan and

peace deals and coexistence with other Arab states. I call on them also to join the circle of peace," he said.

Mr Peres insisted that the new government must honour Israel's peace deals with Mr Arafat even if it pposed an independent Palestinian state. "Our nation must respect the agreements that we have achieved, even if we don't like the dreams that our parmers may have," he said.

Arab and Western governments reacted warily to the Likud victory, hoping publicly that Mr Netanyahu will continue the peace process, and vorrying privately that he will slow t down or destroy it.

"Our policy will remain the same," President Clinton said. "The United States will continue its support for the people of Israel . . . and or the process of peace."

Martin Wooliecott, page 12

hopes of new ceasefire

The Washington Post Le Plonde

an Graham and Patrick Wintour

OPES of a new IRA ceasefire vanished this week when it issued a brief statement saying there was "absolutely no likelihood" of such a move before all-party talks on Ulster's future start on June 10.

There had been hopes after Sinn Fein's best election result last week that the republican movement might be prepared to give the democratic path a try. But with no cease-fire there will be no Sinn Fein admission to the talks unless there is a complete about-face by the Irish and UK governments - a move which would so outrage unionist parties that they would be certain to stay away.
Tuesday's statement, issued to

the BBC and the Belfast Irish News, was seen as a clear attempt to influence the meeting in London be-tween Sir Patrick Mayhew, the Northern ireland Secretary, and Dick Spring, the Irish foreign minister, on the issue of decommission ing paramilitary weapons, which the IRA fears will dominate discussions.

To try to calm such fears, the British and Irish governments are expected to announce this week that Sinn Fein will be allowed to take part in the talks for three months before any handover of paramilitary weapons. The Ulster Unionist leader, David Trimble, it

said to have accepted the plan. Senator George Mitchell, the special adviser to President Clinton, will be given an important role in chairing the talks on decommission ing and in the main political strand of talks on the future of North-South relations in Ireland.

Sinn Fein triumph, page 8 Comment, page 12

Race for riches divides China

US cities opt for teen curfews

The gold diggers

of Britain plc A Darwinian

experiment in death

Booze gets bad name in US

Austria AS30 Melte 45c
Beigum BF75 Netherlands G 4.75
Denmark DK16 Norway NK 18
Friand FM 10 Portugal E300
France FF.13 Saucil Arable SR 6.50
Germary DM 4 Spain P 300
Graece DR 400 Sweden SK 19
Ray 13,000 Switzerland SF 3.30

Football International friendly: China 0 England 3

close-range shot straight at the goal-

again had Juventus supporters'

hearts in their mouths when he

elected to punch away a rare Ajax

But Juventus also had the better

of extra time. Silooy and Kanu both

own net. Van der Sar had to save

Del Piero's 20-yarder, and with 20

seconds left Del Piero hit a 16-yard

shot instead of catching it.

Barmby leads the cavalcade

David Lacey in Beijing

NGLAND survived the shrillest of China syndromes without breakages in the Workers' Stadium last week and did as much as any team could have in the circumstances to put themselves into a pos-itive frame of mind for the European

If it seemed a long way to come to prove that Barmby can still punish slack defences and Adams is hap-pier in a back four than a back three, at least the team Terry Ven-18 Established way of procedure in ables put out did its best to show him that the competition for places in his final squad of 22 is far from

Barmby scored twice and Gascoigne once, with Anderton heavily involved in each of the goals. In fact the match fast developed into a cavalcade of Spurs past and present, with Walker eventually replacing

dld him no favours. With Sheringham, the Spurs player most crucial to Venables's plans for Euro 96, rested along with Seaman, Pearce, Ince and Platt, the evening could have become little more than a check on England's spare parts. Two things prevented this: the high-quality performances of Gascoigne and Anderton, and the nature of the occasion.

jing, with 65,000 packing the ground and every other spectator seem ingly equipped with a trumpet or a klaxon designed to perforate an eardrum at 10 paces, and the task is not

Refusing to become caught up in this attempt to re-enact the battle of the Imjin River, Venables's mixture of leading players, supporting play ers, spear-carriers and we'll-let-you knows impressed as much through the composure of their football a hrough its ultimate effect.

Barmby, who did not score in his ast 14 games for Middlesbrough may have advanced his case for h clusion in the final squad by a couple of rungs, "His positional play was first-class," said Venables. In the second match of their Far

East tour, England defeated Hong Kong Golden Selection 1-0, the goal coming from a Les Ferdinand

Meanwhile in Connecticut, Scot and went down 1-2 in their international friendly with the US in the Veterans' Stadium at Hartford.

Scotland took the lead after only nine minutes through Durie, only his fifth goal in 28 internation But the Americans equalised three minutes later from the penalty apol through Wynalda, and Jones got the winner for the home aide with

Play China at Wembley with the | spectacular 25-yard drive 18 min stadium two-thirds empty and one utes from the end.

Arafat gives vintage performance at Oxford

en Black

TWAS a splendid if unlikely setting, but Yesser Arafat loved every minute at the Oxford Union on Monday night, defi-antly stating his people's case-despite a new Israeli government that looks distinctly less keen on the "peace of the brave" he kept talking about.

He came into the chamber like prizefighter, saluting the aptuse from students pressed gainst the stained glass winows and the wooden balconies a bigger crowd-puller than O J Impson, the last high-profile "Mr Paleatine" was in his

trademark gear — beautifully tallored olive drab, five-day stub ble and chequered keffiyeh headdress — but he had left be-hind his pistol and holster. The only guns were in the discreet hands of the Special Branch

men swarming over the building.
Close up, President Arafat
looked tired, his hawkish eyes
more hooded than usual, though
he pumped hands and spoke excitedly of his "fruitful, warm and constructive" talks with John Major earlier in the day.

an Arafat classic; an hour-long cursion through Palestinian history in elegant, classical Arabic with simultaneous transation and occasional lapses into

English for wisecracks.
Politically, he was cautious, but gave no ground in his first speech since the bad news from Israel, insisting that agreements must be honoured and the world should make sure they were.

We entirely respect the right of the Israelis to choose their epresentative in the democratic way," he said in a key passage.
"We see these elections as a

Israel in completing this journey. "Peace agreements are a conchange of mind and no unilateral withdrawal." But there was no doubt about

> the president's demands. "It is no more than naive self-delusion to claim that Israel is capable of achieving peace without a full withdrawal from Palestinian and Arab territory and without recognising the right of the Palestinians to return, to selfdetermination, and to establish an independent state with its capital in Jerusalem."

It was vintage Arafat, at once folksy, almost mewkishly dramatic, but deadly serious too.

- 1 The person who thinks he's put
- 9 The abstemious man imbibes little, so is sound as a bird (5)

5 Record deposit (3,4)

- as can be (9) 11 Cultivation? (9) 12 Not in any doubt about German
- capital flow (5) 13 The team accepting money may well go downhill fast! (5)
- 15 Refer to a page with audacious article in (9)
- 19 Chide a little fellow if he's coldish
- causes apprehension (5) 23 Give voice about prime suspect amirking (9) 25 Getting dressed (9)
- 26 Duck going to waste fancyl (5) 27 English reader, a choosy Individual (7)

28 Joints offering personal

18 One taking a look around needs

protection (7)

PARZABIU ALRIE EQUALISER RKES C C Y S A SLEEPYHEAD OPAL H T A S A E I SERVICEFLAT AF S E A R T Y NAL LENTANDO T I R C B W

Down . 1 A head holding exercise will © Guardian Publications Ltd., 1996. Published by Guardian Publications Ltd., 164 Deansgate, Manchester, M60 2RR, and printed by WCP Commercial Printing, Leck. Second class postage paid at New York, N.Y., and mailing offices. Registered as a newspaper at the Post Office.

Who do you think you are kidding, Mr Major?

OUR leader on the beef crisis (An election in July, by jingo?, June 2) came as a welcome antidote to the anti-Europe hysteria being whipped up by the UK government. BSE has not been eradicated from the British beef herd, and government controls have, thus far, not prevented some infected material from entering the food chain. Therefore, how can the Government continue to assert the safety of

The limited cull that Douglas Hogg has offered Europe has nothing to do with eradicating BSE from the herds, and our European partners are quite right to be sceptical.

unacceptable gamble with British lives. Until BSE has been completely removed from the food chain, or until it is proved that BSE does not cause spongiform encephalopathy in humans, it is reasonable to expect foreign governments to protect their

people.
(Dr) D K Hardman, School of Social Sciences, City University, London

ISTENING to the Prime Minister outline the Government's latest tactics over the ban on British beef, one could visualise Mr Major standing at the despatch box short trousers, with his school chums bellowing encouragement. Just isn't cricket, is it?

An incident of this nature would have seen Palmerston dispatch a gun boat. Churchill would have vowed to "fight them on the beaches". Mr Major, however, has decided to take his bat and ball home.

Morecambe, Lancashire

JOHN MAJOR'S attempt to "Falk-landise" the political relationship with Europe probably looked like a good idea in isolation, but I presume that the Government forgot the proximity of the forthcoming invasion of football fans? In one stroke it has created an extremely dangerous situation. Mr Major's election-slogan list can now add, "Come on over it you think you're hard enough".

Brain Austin, eston-super-Mare. Somserset

MMEDIATELY consumer choice looks like it might upset a farmer or industrialist, the Government appears to lose its enthusiasm for the rigours of the market-place. The BSE fiasco showed that consumers place a significant penalty on food that may contain agents with a plausible, if not entirely proven, risk of harming them. Over time, producera will reapond to these consumer preferences. However, if market signals are obscured because producers think the Government will bail them out with compensation (BSE) or conceal their problem (babymilk), we should not be surprised it the food industry continues to take liberties with the nation's health.

MAJOR'S posturing is as morally justified as Britain's position in the opium wars. It is typical of the UK government's understanding of commerce that it is content to encourage the supply of cheap and defective products, and then wants to force the world to buy them. Brian Hall. Haywards Heath, West Sussex

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Germany, France, Italy, Holland etc from competing in the Euro 96 football championship. This would have the added bonus of marginally improving England's prospects.
William Barrett,

History and the Holocaust

CANT help but find it extremely ironic that French cleric Abbé Pierre (Dramatic fall from grace for French "saint", May 12), who took great risks smuggling Jews out of Nazi-occupied France and who has devoted his life to helping the poor and homeless, is now being ostracized for defending Roger Garaudy's right to historical inquiry into the extent of the Holocaust. guess actions don't speak louder than words. It seems that some years ago Noam Chomsky was ex-

coriated for exactly the same heresy. This leads to an interesting quesfion: is the Holocaust a historical event and therefore subject to open and honest debate and disagreement, or is it an article of religious dogma with any departure from the received orthodoxy resulting in the offender being ostracised by the community of the righteous?

Last year, professional historians at the Smithsonian Institution, the national museum of the United States, were censored when they planned an exhibition on the atomic combings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki that showed them as atrocities rather than as a necessary and glorious end to the "Good War". Funding for the museum and individual jobs were threatened amid cries of "unpatriotic", "anti-American", and even "treasonous". Buried in all the hype was considerable evidence that the bombings didn't end the war and

may have, in fact, prolonged it. Since Mr Garaudy's book is entitled the Founding Myths Of Israeli Politics, I would surmise that what is possibly being suppressed this time probably has less to do with the Holocaust than with some of the less savoury aspects of Israel's birth. I would further speculate that recent Israeli outrages in southern Lebanon greatly amplify the need to bolt the closet door lest any skele-

Knee-jerk emotional reactions vhenever anyone challenges the official" version of the Holocaust or other sacrosanct historical events accomplish nothing except to provide fodder for those who wish to deny it. Why not answer them with facts?

Efraim Csuwoj, Coram, New York, USA

Making a mess of Hong Kong

| WOULD like the British to know that we in Hong Kong are suffering as the victims of pettyminded party politics steeped in the tradition of nationalist prejudices. It must be well-known that John Major rewarded the governor, Chris Patten, for his part in the 1992 British elections, knowing that Patter's only qualification for the post was his loyalty to the Prime

The British people must be aware of the tactics Mr Patten used in that

THE best way to retaliate against | prised that the same smart propa-the Euro beef ban is to stop | ganda machine has swamped the British press with stories of this brave man's stand for democracy against the Chinese government that had leaned over backwards to bring about a smooth transition from British to Chinese sovereignty

> Mr Patten has a small but your band of followers in Hong Kong who, like the British government, only discovered the dire need of Hong Kong for democracy when Beijing had made it clear that sovereignty would revert to China. Until that time there had never been a "parliamentary" election in Hong Kong, and for 150 years proponents of democracy were quickly denigrated and suppressed. The only human rights in Hong Kong were brought about by social pressures, always under threat, and its prosperity was achieved by hard work.

> What was intended to be a smooth transition, with every hope that the "one country two systems" plan would work because the contrary would do no good for either side, has now become a vulgar slanging match, with the governor calling the first shots that provoke not only China but also those who have worked hard to make the progress achieved under the governorships of Lord Maclehose and his two successors, Sir Edward Youde and Lord Wilson.

Most devastating is the fact that the two other main political parties have acquiesced in actions which, had they occurred in Britain, they would have most strenuously opposed. Very few Members of Parliament have taken the trouble to understand the situation, and most of those who have done so would almost certainly agree with what am saying (some having already informed me of this). Elsie Tu.

Kowloon, Hong Kong

Central flaw in Howard's way

THE central error in Michael Howard's reasoning Judges lambast minister, June 2) has not yet, it seems, been adequately exposed. Speaking to the 1993 Conservative party conference, Michael Howard said: "Let us be clear. Prison works, it ensures that we are protected from murderers. muggers and rapists, and it makes many who are tempted to commit crime think twice."

A welter of evidence contradicts this rhetoric. Most crime is property-related (93 per cent) and nothing to do with murder and rape. Most murders are crimes of passion or wrongs committed by people suffering from clinically diagnosable mental conditions - not people who would be suddenly sobered prison sentence. Over 60 per cent of Wayne Burtt, related offences.

The prison population is now 55,000 and projected by the Home Office to rise to 59,900 by 2004, A massive expansion of the prison building programme since 1982, and the incarceration of an extra 10,000 since 1993, should, according to Mr Howard's logic, have cast a deterent shadow over large sections of the community and thus reduced crime. In fact, recorded crime has doubled since 1980.

(Dr) Gary Slapper, Law School, Staffordshire University, election, and they should not be sur- | Stoke-on-Trent

Briefly

leader, Tony Blair, and a crossparty committee of MPs feel that the military's ban on gays and lesbians in its ranks cannot be "imposed on the armed forces against their will" (MPs vote to keep forces ban on gays, May 19). Mr Blair's ready abandonment of the view he holds in "principle", that the ban ought to be lifted, is bad enough. However, your story misses the point. Since when, in a parliamentary democracy, are policy decimilitary might find acceptable? Don't the constitutional problems here over-shadow the human rights concerns? It would seem preferable to me that the generals answer to

OU report that the Labour

the Government and Parliament, however bigoted they may be, rather than the situation you depict where cringing parliamentarians vote on the basis of the military's possible reaction.

ONCERNING your Geneva re port (Call for land-mines ban ignored, May 12) estimating that 100 million land mines presently await their victims in 68 countries. I vonder if, to rectify our criminal in ternational status quo, an equivalent number ought not to be laid throughout the mine-producing ustions? Let's have a level playing

Foronto, Canada

R V Maclend. Sirdar, BC, Canada

I USTICE for the unrepresented voters in the Westminster City Council area was like a slow train coming. But when it came, it was worth waiting for, every £31 million

lames Bidgood, Mackay, Queensland, Australia

[APPIAUD Australian prime minister John Howard's decision to outlaw automatic and semi-auto untic rifles, and would like to see John Major take a similar initiative How can we refuse to let atrochies such as the mass shootings in Durattitude to firearms? I cannot under stand why such measures have never been seriously considered in Martha Stokes.

IKE many Britons I was 88 dened by the ideological and damaging sale of Railtrack (Railtrack set to yield £1.9 billion, May 26); an essential national transport asset Imagine the reaction to the UK government selling motorways and arteinto not killing by the threat of a rial roads in similar cavaller fashion

The Guardian

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Yeltsin unveils poll manifesto

David Hearst in Moscow

RESIDENT Boris Yeltsin has unveiled an election maniable from that of his Communist opponents. He promises Russians a normal life, fatter wallets, and the protection of their vital interests. He chose the industrial city of

Perm in the Urals to set out his political stall and received a mixed reception from the elderly crowd. who wanted to know when this nor mal life would start. His 127-page programme said: "

feel your pain, the pain of the country. But this is the pain of a recovering organism. Many in Perm did not think so;

banners were as often anti-Yeltsin as pro-Yeltsin. The president promised o listen to their concerns and told the crowd: "In the last years, we

Voters trim

Czech PM

THE CZECH prime minister, Vaclav Klaus, launched a battle

for his political life this week, vow-

ing to hold on to power after week-end elections stripped him of his

In an interview with the pro-

government Telegraf newspaper,

Mr Klaus suggested a minority re-grouping of his coalition, the last

conservative government in eastern Europe, was probably the only op-

tion left for the country. "I don't see a lot of further possibilities . . . We

must begin to work intensively on

Official results gave Mr Klaus's coalition only 99 seats in the new 200-member parliament, down from 112. The rival Social Democrats sur-

prised analysts by winning 61 seats.

Mr klaus said no mainstream

parties would want to deal with the

ittle-reformed communists or the

The outcome of the Czech Repub-

ismemberment of Czechoslovakia

n 1993 heralds a period of uncer-

tainty, sullying the country's image as a haven of stability in post-

communist Europe, The result could signal parliamentary gridlock and bring forward fresh elections.

President Vaclay Havel has had

Owen Bennett Jones in Geneva

The US secretary of state, Warren

NDER heavy pressure from the ances from Serola's p

United States, Balkan leaders: bodan Milosevic, that the Bosnian

agreed on Sunday to try to create | Serb leader, Radovan Karadzic,

he necessary conditions for free would be removed from office to en-

and fair Boanian elections by the sure a free election. Mr Christopher

Christopher, said that delaying the not taken. "I'm not in the business

vote would only serve to entrench of deadlines but there is a growing

the status quo and deepen the divi-

sions" in the war-racked country.

After bliateral talks with Mr Christopher in Geneva, the president Bosnia would step up its

and Julian Borger in Pale

middle of September.

ic's first general election since the

far-right Republicans, which

gether won 40 seats.

lan Traynor in Prague

majority in parliament.

this," he said.

sails of

began to forget what empty shelves are. We should ensure that people forget about empty wallets."

His programme was vague on how this new spending power could be achieved. Like the Communist manifesto, it was optimistic about prospects for economic growth. Mr Yeltsin promised to support the national producer, to cut taxes, and to ban the system of tax favours for groups such as those run by his avourite sportsmen.

He promised to clamp down on the uncontrolled sale of land to speculators, to contain unemployment, and to restore the value of savings destroyed by the liberalisa-tion of prices.

litical impact, launched only days after the Communists', which ad-

Russian leader was getting the rebel Chechen leader, Zelimkhan Yandarbiyev, to Moscow to sign a ceasefire deal, and then keeping Mr Yandar-biyev there while himself flying to Grozny to proclaim he had won the war. However, the peace deal is in serious trouble after a weekend of fighting, deaths and accusations o bad faith from both sides.

As opinion polls continued to record a rise in Mr Yeltsin's perwhich takes place on June 16.

hered to the same principles. The main triumph of last week for the and Europe, following Russia's

Close encounters . . . Vaciav Klaus, the Czech prime minister, signs

provide open access to the news dons tribunal in The Hague. Mr media during the election campaign.

But the US failed to win assur-

reimposed on Belgrade if action was away from Mr Karadzic's strong-

hold of Pale.

Unlike elsewhere in the region,

the Czech Social Democrats are not

unreformed communists came

third with more than 10 per cent of

the vote. The Republicans took 8

per cent of the vote and gained four

Mr Christopher also announced

that a US aid office would open in

Banja Luka — a clear gesture of

support for more moderate ele-

ments among the Bosnian Serbs,

week as a weeping soldier in the Bosnian Serb army, Drazen Erde

movic, pleaded guilty to taking part

reformed communists. The rump

talks with Mr Klaus and is expected

However, the leader of the Social

Democrats, Milos Zeman, could

warned that sanctions could be

fairly claim to be the psychological,

quadrupled its seats to 61.

US insists on Bosnia holding elections

to ask the prime minister to try to

sonal rating, the president suggested for the first time that he might win outright in the first round of voting between the 11 candidates.

The programme contained surprises on foreign policy or Chechenia, which Mr Yeltsin ation. He remains committed to his

accession to the Council of Europe. On defence, he promised to maintain a stronger nuclear deterrent and to support the military industrial complex, which became the first

victim of his reform programme.
The path which Russia is follow ing is the right one and the only pos sible one. Only this can lead us t our cherished goal of renaissance o a great state," he said. In style and tone, particularly his

use of the term "great state", M Yeltsin was borrowing from the Communist leader, Zyuganov, his maln rival. But Mr Zyuganov continues to suffer from poor publicity and little television

The Communist leader's main weapon in the run-up to polling will be his claim that the vote will be falsified by officials, who are beholden to the president's administration. Mr Zyuganov has urged supporters to flood polling stations to ensure ing starts and are sealed.

French praise structure of reformed Nato

Denis Staunton in Berlin

NATO foreign ministers this week agreed to a new command structure which theoretically enables European alliance members to mount military operations independently of the United States.

The plan, announced at a conference in Berlin, allows for the creation of combined joint task forces (CJTFs) to be deployed in troubled regions, such as former Yugoslavia inder the command of the Western

European Union (WEU). The French foreign minister, Hervé de Charette, welcomed the reform as a great success for Europe and announced that France would soon resume the full role in

Nato it abandoned 30 years ago. "If this process is completed France regards with interest this new alliance and declares itself ready to participate fully according o a new status," he said.

The announcement was preceded y heated wrangling over the role f the US in any European-led

The US state department spokesman, Nicholas Burns, admitted that the wording of the agreement had caused problems. He inslated, nowever, that Washington would retain the right to become involved in planning any new operations. We are also a European country and a European power and we are determined to remain here," he

The foreign ministers also discussed the I-For peacekeeping operation in Bosnia, insisting that it would end as planned at the end of this year.

"There will be no post I-For." said Kinkel. "We went in together and we'll come out together."

But Nato's secretary-general. Javier Solana, said the peacekeeping troops would remain at full strength until after the elections The Hague war crimes tribunal planned for September, leaving took a dramatic leap forward last open the possibility of extending their mandate.

' Speaking in Paris to the assembly of the WEU, Michael Portillo, the

The Week

D DEVE GOWDA was sworn in as India's new prime minister. He heads the 13-party leftwing United Front. The previous prime minister, Atal Behari Vajpayee, a Hindu nationalist, resigned after failing to command a majority in parliament.

URKISH authorities will have to improve their record on human rights, democracy and Cyprus before the European Parliament approves Ankara's share of \$4.5 billion in aid for 12 countries, Pauline Green, leader of the socialist bloc in the parliament, said after a factfinding mission to the country.

B URMA'S military regime freed at least 74 of the 262 attempt by the junta to stop the pro-democracy leader, Aung San Suu Kyi, from holding a party congress.

A FTER years of detention in Hong Kong camps, 214 Vietnamese voluntarily boarded plane home, bringing the number of asylum-scekers returned in May to 1,391 — the highest monthly total in 30 months.

VENEZUELA'S supreme court found the former president, Carlos Andrés Pérez. aged 73, guilty of corruption and sentenced him to two years and four months house arrest.

HE Gulf state of Bahrain announced it had folled a pro-Iranian plot to overthrow the government and was recalling its ambassador to Tehran.

S AUDI ARABIA announced that it had publicly executed four men convicted of the bombing last year of a UN-run military facility in Riyadh, which left seven dead, including five Americans.

TURKISH troops in Cyprus ahot dead a Greek Cypriot soldier in the UN buffer zone on the so-called Green Line which divides the capital, Nicosia.

THE Angolan president, José Eduardo dos Santos, fired the prime minister, Marcolino Moco, and his cabinet and suspended foreign exchange trade in decrees aimed at dealing with the economic crisis.

ORE than 10,000 delethe German foreign minister, Klaus: | Wagates met in Istanbul for a two-week UN conference seeking to address deep-set urban ills - poverty, homelessness, social and environmental decay — and build global cities for the future.

IMOTHY LEARY, the US psychologist and philoso-pher best known for advising his patrots, increasing title chances of in Europe's worst massacre since pledged to work to ensure freedom of movement throughout Bosnia and sawar criminals by the United National in July last year.

British defence secretary, made a students to "turn on, turne in, pointed call to the US not to leave and drop out" during the 1960s, in July last year.

British defence secretary, made a students to "turn on, turne in, pointed call to the US not to leave and drop out" during the 1960s, in July last year.

British defence secretary, made a students to "turn on, turne in, pointed call to the US not to leave and drop out" during the 1960s, in July last year. in Washington

A NEW JERSEY city plagued by crime has taken the dramatic step of reinforcing its night-time curfew on all children under 18 with a daytime ban as well - leaving them free to be outside for just 10

hours a day. Faced with drug trafficking and gang violence by night and school truancy by day, the authorities in Camden, New Jersey will now bar all children between the ages of five and 18 from the streets from 8.30am until 3pm - adding to the ban already in force between 10pm and 6am. Parents of those caught will face a fine of \$1,000 or up to 90 days in jail.

The drastic action was announced the day after President Clinton's call to combat youth violence with night-time curfews, which alarmed civil liberties groups and child rights advocates who fear it could lead to a virtual ban on all under-18s from America's streets.

The president's support for socalled "teen curfews" - already in force in three-quarters of the US's largest 200 cities - has touched off a hotly contested debate, with critics charging that much celebrated gains have been exaggerated and real costs ignored.

Cities from Washington DC to Denver have introduced laws banning children from staying out after dark, with most authorities imposing heavy fines for each violation.

A curfew scheme in New Orleans drew particular praise from Mr Clin-



Thousands march in Washington at the weekend to demand a better deal for children

streets by 8pm on a winter school night, 9pm in summer. At the weekend, teenagers not indoors by 11pm are taken to a "central curfew centre", where their parents must go to pick them up. The family must then undergo counselling. The nighttime youth crime rate in New Orleans has fallen by 27 per cent.

"These are just like the old when we were kids," Mr Clinton told a conference of church leaders in Louisiana. Recalling the words of his late mother, he said: "When the lights come on, be home, Bill."

With thousands of parents and ton. Since 1994, the city has re-quired all under-17s to be off the the weekend for a rally to protest campaign. families gathered in Washington at

against Republican cuts in services for children, the president's remarks renewed an often bitter debate about US youth and their involvement in crime.

Advocates brandish statistics showing considerable declines in rates of crime and violence where curfews are in force. As violent crime among teens rose 57 per cent between 1984 and 1994 a pro-curfew consensus has evolved among US

They help keep our children out of harm's way," said Mr Clinton, who is using the issue to highlight his tough-love approach to crime in this year's presidential election

Ruth Sidel, a sociologist, fears curfews discriminate against poor children because they rarely have around and keep them off the streets. "Upper middle class teenagers will always have mummy

daddy to drive them to band

But the harshest criticism has come from the American Civil Liberties Union, "What these laws do is penalise normal and otherwise lawful behaviour, for example standing on the street corner, and penalisa the many for the misdeeds of the few," said activist Norman Siegel.

Albania accused of poll 'abuse'

leiena Smith in Tirana

HE EUROPEAN UNION ready to abandon plans for closer links with Albania if reports of the rigging of the first round of the country's general election last month are confirmed by internaional observers.

The ruling Democratic Party, which claimed victory in the earlier polls, won another victory in the see and round, taking six of nine sents in a poll boycotted by most opposi-tion parties and criticised by Western observers.

The opposition demanded a reru of polling in more than two-thirds of the country, saying the election had been rigged. President Sali Berish has denied any manipulation.

The main opposition parties said they would hold a protest in Tirana's Skanderbeg Square on Tuesday, one week after their first demon stration was crushed by riot police.

The Albanian president was conspicuous by his absence at the weekend as voters took part in runoff polls that marked the end of a general election. Despite seeing his Democratic Party win an overwhelming, if disputed, victory in the first round, allegations of huge vote rigging have "visibly shaken" the president, reports said.

Opposition party supporters have accused Dr Berisha, aged 51, of plotting the return of one-party rule in the former Stalinist state.

Race for riches threatens to split China

Andrew Higgins in Beijing

T THE Success Club, a pleasure dome of marble, polnymphe run by paramilitary police, the winners and losers of China's chaotic dash for prosperity collide on massage tables.

The People's Armed Police previously used the premises, just down the road from the Beljing Worker's Stadium, to show Communist Party propaganda films. Now the force uses the building to make money from brief but profitable encounters between the ever-widening poles of China's economic boom.

The race for prosperity is a fren-zied but increasingly uneven conpetition that, according to a prominent Chinese economist, could push the country towards Yugoslav-style disintegration.

On one side are the new rich of the Chinese capital, men with shiny suits and mobile phones. On the other are the have-nots from impoverished hinterlands, among them who came to Beijing after losing her job at a bankrupt state factory in Anhui province.

According to Hu Angang, a researcher at the Chinese Academy of Yugoslavia, were the first to bolt. Social Sciences, the gulf between rich and poor threatens China's ability to hold together and avoid iumble of feuding fiefdoms.

"The biggest and most important task today is to avoid China splitting apart," said Mr Hu, an outspoken critic of the trickle-down theory championed by Deng Xlaoping as I week reported to have issued an Mr Deng's free-market frenzy.

Of C

an antidote to the stagnation left by Maoist egalitarian ism.

While coastal provinces, blessed by Beijing with tax breaks and flush with cash from Hong Kong and Taiwan, have raced ahead with doubledigit annual growth, poorer regions are lagging far behind. The per capita gross domestic product of China's richest region, the Zhuhai Special Economic Zone, is now 86 times higher than that in the pooreat area, Qinglong county in Guizhou.

"Former Yugoslavia is a very good example of what can happen if recentral government loses too much power," said Mr Hu. "On the surface, the war there was not about economics but an ethnic conflict. The

root cause, though, was economic."
When Mr Deng's reforms began in 1978, Anhui province had a per capita GDP only slightly less than coastal Fujian, Today, both are far better off. But they have also grown far apart, Fujian's per capita figure is more than twice that of Anhui.

Croatia, the richest parts of former same temptation.

In inland areas, the poorest of

ultimatum to "splittlats" to surrender and repent, comes 131st in the United Nations table of general development - an index combining life expectancy, literacy and other messures of well-being. Shanghai and Beljing are ranked 31st, ahead

of South Korea and Singapore. "China is a vast country and the centre must have the money and authority to redress the balance," said Mr Hu, "No matter who is in charge, the central government cannot let provinces drift away. I want to change the rules of the game between the centre and provinces."

Instead of being silenced as an alarmist heretic, Mr Hu appears to have the ear of the Chinese leadership, which looks favourably on a coterie of neo-conservative scholars who see danger in China's fast-buck boom. But he has enraged coastal barons with demands that Beijing scrap privileges granted to special economic zones by Mr Deng, now aged 91 and largely eclipsed as a

Li Youwei, party chief in Shentextile worker turned masseuse Hu and like-minded advocates of Kong, accuses him of trying to znen, which is a neighbour of Hong strong central government, stokes | revive the ruinous egalitarian frenzy | trai government cannot even sup-

anyone else."

The economist has the backing of worse and worse." which have large non-Chinese populations, economic grievances fuel patrons. His views mesh with the arguments of Zhu Rongil, a panded a crackdown on separatists resentment against Beijing and polithuro member in charge of the and illegal religious activities to in-

Other supporters include the leaders of poor provinces such as Anhui. The province's governor phoned last week to invite Mr Hu to address local cadres.

The New China News Agency, which produces secret daily report or "internal reference", included a paper written by Mr Hu on the parallels with Yugoslavia in one of its submissions to the Communist Party leadership — the modern version of Imperial-era memorials to

Evidence of the state's dangerous veakness, according to Mr Hu, can be seen in the steady crosion of central government revenue. "If the central government wants to increase its authority, it must first inrease its money," he said.

Beljing's revenues accounted for .5 per cent of GDP in 1986 but have since dropped to 3.5 per cent — less than the 5.6 per cent received by Belgrade on the eve of Yugoslavia's

The emergence of enterprises like the Success Club illustrates the riska behind auch atatistica

"The money secured by the censeparatist sentiments among both rich and poor. Just as Slovenia and reverse Mr Deng's policies.

of Mao's Great Leap Forward and port our army," warned Mr Hu.

This forces soldiers to go into busi-"Deng's road was correct but the ness to make their own money. No situation has changed," replied Mr | army in the world should be allowed prosperous Chinese coastal regions | Hu. "We can't say a single word | to do business. Money must come could, they say, succumb to the | from Deng is worth 10,000 words by | from the government. If it doesn't, corruption in the army will grow

inflame ethnic tension.

Tibet, where Beijing was last rapid decentralisation produced by Mr Deng's free-market frenzy.

economy who has struggled to halt rapid decentralisation produced by Mr Deng's free-market frenzy.

Nigeria heads sleaze ranking

IGERIA tops the list of courtries that international business people consider the most corrupt, according to a ranking published this week by a Bedin based independent organisation Transparency International l'iffy-four countries involved i

international business are ranked by Transparency International in its second an nual corruption index. The rank ings are based on results from 10 surveys made by management and risk-analysis organisa tions as well as on information volunteered by representatives of international companies brough the Internet.

After Nigeria, business people ranked Pakistan, Kenya, Bangladesh, China, Cameroon Venezuela, Russia, India and Indonesia as the most corrupt

The 10 least corrupt countries this year were New Zealand, Canada, Norway, Singapore, Switzerland, the Netherlands and Australia. The United States was judged the 15th least corrupt country, with a slightly worse reputation than Israel but better than Austria.

The findings, stored and analysed at Goettingen University in Germany, report perceptions of people in international business, mostly from industrialised nations, who deal regularly with foreign companies and governments. — New York Times



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Events conspire to unsettle a president



The US this week

T IS an open question whether the defeat of his candidate in the Israeli elections or the guilty verdict in the trial of his Whitewater partners last week did serious damage to President Clinton. His diplomatic reputation will not be helped in the Middle East and elsewhere by the perception that in backing the Labour prime minister, Shimon Peres, he picked a loser.

The Whitewater mess, which seemed to be trickling down the drain of American forgetfulness, has suddenly backed up and come whooshing out to soak the White House all over again, dismaying his friends and giving his enemies new heart. The Democrats can no longer indulgently call it all "a cover-up without a crime" — a crime has now been certified by a jury. It is now clear that the president's old business associates in the Whitewater venture were crooks. The morale of dispirited Republicans has been re-stored. The House and Senate committee inquiries have gained new

In each case, the damage so far has been more potential than real, and the outcome will be deter-mined by others. Whether Arab extremists express their rage or the new Likud government pursues or blocks the Middle East peace process, they are unlikely to ask the White House first. Indeed, when the US secretary of state, Warren Christopher, insisted last week that the US and Israel enjoy "a special relationship", one realised how cool relations have become. (Politicians say that only when things are grim: ask John Major.) Clinton's hopes of a comprehensive Middle East peace settlement being signed on his front lawn this autumn are, therefore, looking even slimmer

Insisting that US policy towards srael "will remain the same". Clinton backtracked fast from his partisan support for Peres in order to reach out to his replacement. "The first big leg of the whole process of pleted by one of Binyamin Netanyahu's Likud predecessors." Clinton told reporters as the last

votes were being counted. The president dismissed suggestions that the new Israeli leader might derail the US diplomatic efforts in the region, or that Netanyahu was not prepared to keep up the drive for peace. "I was quite interested in the comments he made about this, particularly in the last days of the election," Clinton noted.

the democratic process and for the pursuit of peace in the Middle East will continue, Clinton went on, pointedly listing them in that order of priority. If Israel is prepared to take risks for peace, we are determined to do our best to reduce the risks and increase the security of those who do that," he said.

Beyond the immediate reaction the main concern of US policy is to keep moderate Arab states from edging back from the steady process of normalising relations with Israel. In particular, the US is determined to nurture what it sees as its most important strategic achievement in the region, the emergent grouping of Israel, Jordan

General John Shalikashvili, chairman of the joint chiefs of staff at the Pentagon, arrived in Jordan as the Israeli votes were being counted. He was there to discuss further US military support for the kingdom, a reward for the Israel-Jordan peace reaty. He also visited the Jordanian air base where 34 US fighters have been stationed since April, to enforce the "no fly" zone over Iraq. The US is also training Jordanian pilots, who will next year receive their first batch of new US F-16 fighters, a symbol of the transformation of US-Jordanian relations since Jordan refused to join the coalition against Iraq during the Gulf war five years

In short, although Israel remains the Middle East, it is increasingly within a wider regional context. The US is friends with most of the Mid-Libya and Irau that it has the capacity to make the neighbourhood un-America's enemies. Before the election, there had been a plan to put pressure on Syria, using the new US-sponsored friendship between Israel and Turkey to remind President Assad how completely surrounded he is.

That may now take more time, and Jordan and Turkey, along with Arab moderates, will have to see what kind of modus vivendi can be established with the flery Ne-From the US perspective, it is im-

portant to note that any damage done to Clinton by the Israeli elections may not benefit the Republicans. The nastiest recent period of US-Israeli relations was between the last Likud governments and the the use of American funds as loan guarantees for new Jewish settlements in the occupied territories. It was James Baker, White House chief of staff to President Reagan and secretary of state to President Bush, who was widely reported to have dismissed the importance of at once. Few in Tel Aviv believed

It was in those tricky years of the 1980s that Netanyahu was in the US as Israel's ambassador to the United Nations. He knows the Jewish com-



Clinton won back their support to the Democrats. And despite the bitand pro-Labour wings of a oncesolid American Jewry, all agree that Clinton has been one of the best

read the American opinion polls, and will not set out deliberately to offend the leader of his most important ally. Even though the economic miracle of the past decade has made Israel almost as wealthy as Britain on a per capita basis, the US still contributes some \$3 billion a year to Israei, including some essential military technology.

Whether Netanyahu will be dealing with a Clinton White House next year is an issue that may rest with the courts. After last week's verdicts the president looks curiously impotent as the next stage in the White-

It is now clear that the president's old business associates In the Whitewater

venture were crooks

water saga unfolds. The independent counsel, Kenneth Starr, will determine whether new charges will be filed before November against people even closer to the Clintons than their former Whitewater partners, lames and Susan McDougal, and Clinton's successor as governor of Arkansas, Jim Guy Tucker.

Tucker was found guilty on two out of seven counts of fraud, James McDougal was found guilty on 18 of 19 counts, and Susan McDougal found guilty on all four charges. The irony is that these three may have it in their power to decide whether the

There is an odd and troubling trathe Jewish lobby with the blunt dition in American jurisprudence. phrase, "Fuck the Jews. They don't | that in the pursuit of a big fish, a vote for us anyway." At different prosecutor can first catch a few times, Baker denied saying it, said small fry, and threaten them with he had been misquoted, and quoted out of context, and quite possibly all agree to help him reel in the prize catch. This is exactly what happened in the latest trial.

The main prosecution witness, a former Little Rock municipal judge named David Hale, had already been tried and convicted for fraud in munity of New York well, and the management of the small capital knows first-hand from them the de-

loans for the Small Business Admin-

In return for a lighter sentence, he agreed to co-operate with Starr. will be recalled that Webb Hubbell, the diagraced former assistant attorney-general and former Rose law firm partner, also agreed to co-operate when the time came for him to be sentenced.

There are evident dangers in such a procedure. For David Hale. the equation was clear: the worse he was for the McDougals and Tucker. the better for him. Starr, a former Republican solicitor-general whose reputation for impartiality is troublingly clouded, is now moving up the food chain. Deals are being dangled before the McDougals and fucker, who is all the more vulnerable now that he has learned that he needs a liver transplant. The worse these three can make it for the Clintons, the better for them, a procedure that might strike non-Ameri-

cans as more vindictive than just. However, these Arkansans are made of sterner stuff than Starr thought, Hubbell managed to keep his dignity, along with most of his silence, and a dissutisfied prosecutor tossed him back to jail. Jim McDougal swore last week that "honours forbids" making such a deal with the prosecution. His wife Susan, without mentioning honour, made

While Starr tests their fibre over he next few weeks, another trial is getting under way in Little Rock, of wo bankers accused of illegal fundng during Governor Clinton's 1990 campaign. It is quite transparent that through them Starr is trying to get at Bruce Lindsey, who was responsible for Clinton's campaign finances. If he can get Lindsey, he may be able to strike directly at his ultimate target, the Clintons.

Few in the White House or at the American bar seriously expect Starr charge against Hillary Clinton, before the election. He may name her as "a target" of his grand jury inves-tigation in Washington, which is almost as bad. But short of such a charge, the effect on the election is not at all clear. It offers the likely Republican challenger, Bob Dole, an opportunity, but there is a cruel joke going around to the effect that the Republicans might be able to do something with this if only Bob Dole were alive.

Dole is doing a little better than that. He was campaigning in Illinois and Ohio this past week, and also made a foray to California to deny American support for Israel, for gree to which the candidate Bill cialised in making federally-backed that he would ever give up cam-

paigning in such a vote-rich state, lowever big Clinton's lead in the After the expense of the primaries, Dole can legally spend no more money until after the Republican convention in August.

He, therefore, depends on the party to spend money for him. on ads that bash Clinton without ever saying "Vote Dole". The party has made it clear that Dole will canpaign in California, and spend a least \$10 million there after the convention. Without Dole lighting hard at the head of the ticket, the Republicans fear losing a swathe of congressional scats.

Dole is not a great campaigner. He seems to have borrowed his strategy from the 1988 campaign by Bush, who came out of the conventions 17 points behind Mike Dukakis, his Democratic rival.

Bush then waged a ruthless cammign of values, wrapping himselfic the flag, sneering at Dukakis for his revulsion at the death penalty and fe nally, notoriously, turning Wily Horton into a household name. Her ton was a convicted black rapist freed by Governor Dukakis on a pa role programme, who raped an That TV ad, as nakedly racist

politics has been played to decades, could be disavowed by cause it was run not by the Bust The ad was devised by a young publican activist called Floy Brown, who specialises in dirly tricks. In 1992, he set up a Gennier Flowers hotline with an invitation t dial in and hear the Flowers-Clinton tapes. For the past two years, Brown has been running a group called Citizens United, a newsletter, for and information service on White water and Arkansas scandals.

In 1988, Clinton flew to Boston to plead with Dukakis to fight back against the dirty Republican campaigning, to go on the offensive and challenge every attack. Dukakis thought it wasn't necessary. In 1992 actly that. If Dole is like one of those generals who is well prepared to fight the last war, he will find Clin ton more than familiar with the

But if Clinton has to fight again Bob Dole, Floyd Brown, Kenneth Starr and the plea-bargain brigate of Arkansas all at once, then he may well end up like his friend Shimo Peres, out of office.

Martin Woollacott, page 12

Millions cross ex-Soviet borders

Owen Bennett Jones in Geneva

ORE than 9 million former Soviet citizens, one in 30 of the population, have been on the move since the collapse of United Nations study.

Many of them have fled fighting. Ethnic disputes in Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan have led to 1.5 million people leaving their homes. Similar population movements have been caused by fighting in Moldova, Tajikistan and Chechenia, Russia has absorbed the biggest inflow of people as ethnic Russians seek the

afety of their motherland. People have also been forced t move for fear of nationalist discrimi-

such movements will be destabilising. While some new countries. especially those in Central Asia, are suffering from a "brain drain" others, like Russia, are having to cope with millions of new arrivals.

Sergio Vieira de Mello, the UN's refugees, says: "With so many on the move there is a risk of economic levelopment being undermined and regional security being threatened." The UNHCR believes an improvement in human rights could reduce

In the Soviet era, Russians moved | last 700,000 eco to other republics where they were out in positions of authority. Many are now back home, and those who have chosen to stay put face

guage of the Soviet Union and few ethnic Russians bothered to learn the local language. But the new governments have all declared official their own languages. Some are de-manding knowledge of that language as a job requirement.

Some migrants are escaping from the Soviet Union's nuclear programmes. Nuclear contamination in

trying to unravel Stalin's policy of

homes to other

the Chechens and the Crimea Tatars, were moved in cattle trucks to Siberia or Central Asia. Their descendants have been trying to get

politicians feared a wave of immigration from East to West. In fact, most of the population movements have been contained within the borders of the former Soviet Union.

A healthy appetite for wood waste

Jon Henley in Helsinki

OOD from wood may not sound appetising, but a new Finnish spread, the key ingredi ent of which is a waste product of the forestry industry, has go international investors' mouths watering — and is causing log-jams at Finnish supermarkets.

Benecol, a revolutionary man garine that unlike low-fat products actually reduces the body's cholesterol levels, could turn nto Finland's biggest success tory since Nokia mobile phones.

Demand for the product has overwhelmed its manufacturer, a little-known food and chemials company called Raisio, and innish supermarkets are having to hang up signs apologising or having sold out.

"It's chaos when a batch comes in," said Auli Kanerva, a alcs manager at a Helsinki oodstore. "We tried to restrict it to a tub a customer, but they ried blue murder."

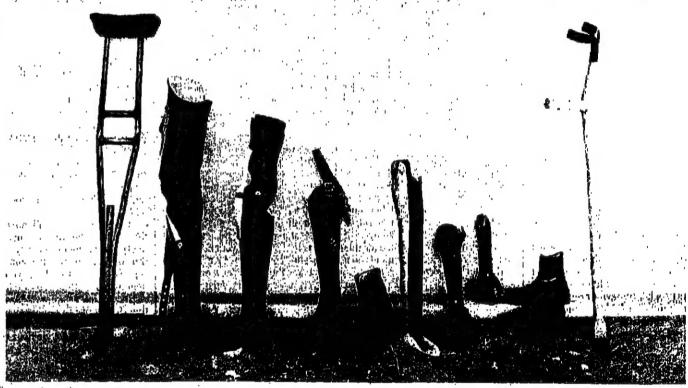
Benecol's active ingredient is lant sterol, a compound rounely washed away by pulp mills which has been adentifically shown to lower blood choles-terol, a leading cause of heart

Plant aterol has been known or some time to reduce choieserol levels, but Raisio's innovation was to develop a process now being patented internation ally — to make the compound soluble in fat. A study by lelsinki university showed enecol, used as an ordinary nargarine, reduced blood choesterol levels by 14 per cent.

While it will be at least two years before the spread is available outside Finland, Raisio's leadquarters, 170km west of Helsinki, has been overrun with bankers and brokers from London, Frankfurt and New York The company's share price has multiplied fivefold since January. "In fact, what gets sold abroad

may not necessarily be mar-garine," said company spokes-man Sten von Hellen. "What's important is that you eat small luantities of plant sterol reguarly. So in the northern Euroean 'sandwich belt' margarine is appropriate, but elsewhere it ould be chocolate, or ice cream, or oil for cooking fish and chips,

FORGET LONDON, PARIS AND ROME. THIS IS WHAT THE WOMEN IN PHNOM PENH ARE WEARING.



Today the growth industry in Cambodia sn't fashion. It's prosthetics.

The country has around 20,000 amputees from a population of just 8.5 million. This means one amputee for every 236 people (compared to a figure of one for every 22,000 people in America). So why is the situation in Cambodia

The country has suffered from civil

of the piece isn't so much the war, as the Cambodia is literally being crippled by anti-personnel landmines.

They are an incredibly cheap form of warfare (costing as little as 3 US dollars each). So to seize some tactical advantage combatants think nothing of deploying scores of these weapons.

In a single 1kin stretch of road in Cambodia 6,000 landmines were found. They are also deployed with scant

regard for the indigenous population. It is the men, women and children out working the fields who are most likely to

fall victim to these hidden killers. And in an agricultural society where muscle power means survival, the loss of a

limb can have repercussions far beyond the physical disability. Take just one of Cambodia's victima Chhea Veou was 19 when she lost a leg

walking to harvest rice in a paddy. "I cannot earn money because no one will employ me. I wanted to have children. But no-one will marry me because I don't

And so she is forced to follow the dangerous paths into the rice fields at harvest

have a leg."

time. She shrugs. "What else can I do?" It's because of Chhes, and thousands like her, that the Red Cross is urgently seeking your help. The carnage must end.

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British Red Cross Caring for people in crisis

LANDMINES MUST BE STOPPED

OD RICHARDS was an abrasive junior minister in the Tough action of this sort has long Welsh Office until the weekend. when a tabloid newspaper reported allegations that he was having an extramarital affair. Within hours he had resigned, without even the usual courtesies of an exchange of letters with the Prime Minister, who normally expresses his "regret" and "appreciation" of services rendered.

He was the tenth serving member of the Major administration to quit after a personal scandal and his departure will doubtless revive the allegations of sleaze in Tory ranks which the party has sought hard to dispel over the past year.

Given the church-going nature or his Clwyd North West constituency, where he had been spearheading a campaign for a return to traditional family values, Mr Richards could well face the possibility of being deselected at the next election, though there is little risk of the Tories losing the seat. The immediate — and embarrassing — problem for Mr Major was finding a replacement minister for the Welsh Office.

The remaining six Welsh Tory MPs are an endangered species, and Welsh-speaking ones are all but extinct. All governments try to install at least one Welsh speaker in the Welsh Office to pacify the 20 per cent of the principality's voters who still still speak the language. That was Mr Richards's role. Since there was no other acceptable candidate, the job went to Jonathan Evans, a junior minister overseeing the important Divorce Bill in the Lord Chancellor's department. He said he could at least manage the Welsh national anthem.

■ MPRESSED by the "zero tolerance" strategy practised by the New York Police Department, the Home Secretary, Michael Howard is studying a similar scheme to deal with "yob culture". The aim, said the Home Office, would be to stamp out anti-social behaviour - drinking in public, graffiti, vandalism, begging, rough sleeping - which fell short of criminality but affected

the quality of neighbourhood life. The success of the police crackdown in New York is claimed by its mayor, Rudolph Giuliani, to have turned it into the safest large city in America. NYPD methods were studied by Mr Howard on a visit earlier this vear and he has instructed



Tough action of this sort has long been advocated by the shadow home secretary, Jack Straw, rather to the annoyance of some of his colleagues. "Labour has long understood", he said, "that anti-social behaviour ruins many people's lives and heightens their fear of crime and lawlessness." But he complained that every time he had proposed measures to deal with public disorder Mr Howard had rubbished them.

IOLENT bullying has increased in schools and is spilling on to the streets, according to a support group, ChildLine, which accused many schools of ignoring the problem in spite of the misery it caused for children and their parents.

A study found that 10 children a year commit suicide because of bullying, and that many more considered it. Of those pupils who responded to a questionnaire, 80 per cent were girls, which suggests that boys still suffer from the stigma of "telling". Many schools refused to co-operate in the study, saying they had no problems with bullying Most boys complained of physical attacks, while girls were subjected equally to physical and mental

ChildLine believes that the first step towards ending bullying is for adults to realise that it is not a natural part of growing up. It also urges that schools to appoint a teacher to oversee anti-bullying policies.

SARA THORNTON, whose case became a cause célèbre when she was given a mandatory life sentence for the murder of her husband, was released after a retrial which found her guilty of manslaughter. The sentence for this was five years' imprisonment — a period she had already served.

Ms Thornton, who became an icon for feminiat groups campaigning on behalf of battered wives, stabbed her husband while he was in a drunken stupor. The retrial judge said he took account of the difficulties of living with an alcoholic and sentenced her on the basis that "killing your husband was diminished by the abnormality of your mind".

The verdict revived demands already supported by many leading lawyers — that mandatory life sentences be abolished to allow judges to fit the punishment to the fact of each crime. And feminist campaigners urged the Home Office to review the cases of 70 other women serving prison sentences for killing their male partners.

THE GOVERNMENT faced the worrying prospect of a national postal strike when the Communication Workers Union voted in favour of industrial action after an 11month dispute with the Royal Mail over new worlding practices.

tem of "team working" which, it | worked in the drive-through claims, would increase flexibility and improve the pay of some workers while reducing that of others. but was given her cards. Last ditch" talks between the two sides will be held next week.



Taxi rank and file . . . Sinn Fein supporters riding in a black cab cavalcade through the streets of west Belfast after voting in Northern Ireland's elections to all-party talks last week PHOTOGRAPH: ALANLENS

Sinn Fein triumphs in poll

David Sharrock

HE IRA is under renewed pressure from London and Dublin to restore its ceasefire after its political wing, Sinn Fein, scored notable successes in last week's Northern Ireland's elections to all-party talks.

Even as supporters of the Sinn Fein president Gerry Adams began to celebrate his overwhelming victory in the constituency of West Belfast, as well as overtaking their nationalist rivals in John Hume's SDLP in a number of seats, the British and Irish prime ministers were strongly restating that the party could not take its place at the talks, due to begin on June 10, unless the IRA ended its violence.

But the indication from Sinn Fein was that, if anything, the strength of its vote has not brought an IRA ceasefire any nearer. "We have the mandate, the onus is now on the two governments," Mr Adams said. "Clearly the majority of people in West Belfast are Sinn Fein voters and they have the right to be treated on an equal basis as the voters in all other parts of this island and on the same basis as those who vote for all the other parties.

"You can't have a situation of imposing an election and then not respect the outcome. The IRA did between now and June 10 is to try | new ceasefire.

and get John Major to accept the outcome of an election which he called. We have fulfilled every single thing which has been asked

He was supported by the leading Republican, Gerry Kelly, who won a seat in North Belfast. "We went to the electorate and they gave us a substantial vote. John Major should recognise that."

Mr Major hailed the elections as

"great boost" to the peace process and issued a direct appeal to the IRA to declare a fresh ceasefire. The people had defied those who claimed they would not understand the reasons for elections or the voting system and turned out in large numbers "to vote for peace and democracy".

"I hope the IRA will now heed this democratic vote for peace by declaring an unequivocal censefire thus opening the way for Sinn Fein's representatives to take part in the negotiations with the other parties." His comments were endorsed by

the trish prime minister, John Bruton, who warned Sinn Feln that "the qualification for participation in the talks have not been changed and will not change".

But he added that there were

grounds for optimism. Dublin is interpreting intense interest by Sinn Fein in the arrangements for the not stand in this election. My focus | talks as a positive indication for a

added his weight to the two prime ministers' views. Mr Hume, who played a key role in persuading the IRA to call its last ceasefire in August 1994, said he hope the IRA would now lay down its weapons forever.

He was speaking after Sinn Fein won 17 seats to the 110-member Northern Ireland Forum, Alongside some spectacular results in ladividual scats at the SDLP's expense, the overall Sinn Fein share of the vote went from 12.4 per cent at the 1993 district council election to a record 15.47 per cent.

The nationalist SDLP still man aged to finish in third place overall with 21 sents despite losing support to Sinn Feln. The Ulster Unionists finished first with 30 places, and Ian Paisley's hard-line Democrati Unionists performed strongly. ending up with 24 seats. The election was a muted success

for Ulster Unionist leader David Trimble, who originally suggested i, "We want to see the process move forward with those partie that are committed to peaceful means and the democratic process. he said. "That puts a big question mark against certain parties." they were not prepared to join the process "then the process must go forward without them".

A nugget too far for McDonald's employee

should have taken an order of

eat and eat until they are sick.

an earlier occasion. "She had

been warned 11 days earlier that

TWAS a case of two chicken McNuggets too far. A McDonald's employee, who, like a latter-day Oliver Twist, wanted more than her lunchtime

allowance of six battered bits of poultry, has been sacked for gross misconduct, writes Sarah

McDonald's was unwilling to take Cathy Shephard's predilec-tion for its food as a compliment Management demands a new systo the chef. The 17-year-old who branch in Strood, Kent, appealed further up the hierarchy,

McDonald's said: "She would

have been entitled to a a sackable offence," the spokes. McDonald's extra value meal chicken nuggets or a quarter woman said. nounder or a Big Mac and fries Ms Shephard, who had worked for McDonald's for just and a drink," she said. "She under a year, said: "We are talk-

ing about losing my job over a six nuggets. She took an order bigger than that." While McDonald's is proud of Clearly she liked the food, but lts staff policies, burger chains McDonald's has a rigid food polare not famous for their generos icy and does not hold with the practices of chocolate factories

ity to staff. Last year Burger King changed its mind in the face of where conveyor-belt packers may bad publicity and paid comper Ms Shephard's addiction to sation to workers who had been fast food was such that she had told to clock off, thereby losing helped herself to a bit extra on pay, whenever there were few

customers in the restaurant.

GUARDIAN WEEKLY

Labour plans curfew for 'under-10s'

Alan Travis

■ ACK STRAW, the shadow home secretary, was at the centre of controversy inside and outside the Labour party this week after suggesting the introduction of night-time curlew powers on children under 10.

He said he did not want to go as far as some American cities, where police have the power to impose an 8pm curfew on the under-17s to curb youth crime.

There is very great concern about the number of younger children who are out on the streets late at night," he said. "This is not chas- | able solution. But what I do believe ing every kid off the street. We are is that any responsible political

being off the streets by 9pm.

'I see them when I'm driving back from the Commons and wonder where their parents are. Curfews seem to be a sensible way to deal with the issue. We are considering giving local authorities the new power in a specific area which they could only introduce after consultation with the police."

But within hours of his comments, Labour's chief whip, Donald Dewar, said on BBC radio: "My first instinct is that this is a problem of very real proportions. I'm not sure that a curfew would be a work-

talking about the under-10s possibly | party should be considering these |

Simon Hughes, Liberal Democrat spokesman on young people, said: 'Curlews to stop youth crime is the latest simplistic, unenforceable and dangerous Labour idea. Curfews in time of local and national civil unrest are one thing. Curfews for lawabiding young people going about their normal activities is another."

Mr Straw said his idea was based on bylaws pioneered in 1988 by Cov-entry city council. He denied any link with an initiative, backed by President Clinton, developed in New Orleans to combat youth crime.

However, an idea from the Home Secretary does seem to be a British

version of the Alabama chain gang. Michael Howard wants to introduce distinctive "mark of sharne" unifor ms for offenders undertaking commu-

nity service punishments in public The idea, put forward in Britain by the Scottish Secretary, Michael Forsyth, would mean offenders wearing community service jackets instead of their own clothes when digging ditches, cleaning up graffiti or doing other community work.

It is expected that the idea will be included in Mr Howard's Crime Bill this autumn. The Labour leader's office

broadly supported Mr Straw, saying Tony Blair was deeply concerned about very young people roaming

the streets at night. A spokesman stressed that the practicalities of the idea had to be examined, But Clive Soley, the Labour MP, said policies to help families were needed rather than curlews.

UK NEWS 9

• David Blunkett, Labour's education spokesman, called for a back to basics reading crusade as part of the most radical reform of primary teaching since the sixties.

A future Labour government's target that all children in England and Wales should have a reading age of 11 when they leave primary school --- unless they have special needs — will mean jettisoning much of the national curriculum in the early years, he told the National Association of Head Teachers' conference in Torquay.

Comment, page 12

Woodhead ups pressure on schools

Donald MacLood

TEACHERS must scrap progressive child-centred teaching methods in primary schools which have left young people lagging behind students in other countries in mathematics and literacy, Chris Woodhead, HM Chief Inspector, unnounced this week.

A forthcoming Office for Standards in Education report on international standards in mathematics will point up the benefits of whole class teaching in countries such as Taiwan, where children start secordary school two years before their English counterparts.

David Reynolds, of Newcastle university, who carried out the Ofsted survey, found maths in England was relatively poor. "English educationists now need to look beyond their own geographical boundaries to see why it is that other countries may be doing better than we do."

The way the Plowden report of 1967, with its advocacy of childcentred methods, had been interpreted in some schools should be buried, said Mr Woodhead. "It is the burial of those misplaced understandings, misunderstandings of what education is all about."

While denying he was laying down teaching methods, Mr Woodhead made clear the style he favoured. Whole class teaching should amount to 60 per cent of primary matha lessons instead of 25 per cent at present, "I am telling teachers that in other countries in Europe and the Pacific rim pupils are achieving more in maths."

However, Colin Richards, a former senior adviser at Ofsted, who has already accused Mr Woodhead of manipulating data to paint a blacker picture of schools, criticised his "narrow, utilitarian view of what said that too much prescription about teaching methods would turn schools into dull, arid places. Mr Richards said: "It is invalid to

assume you can take any one particular factor from another culture and transplant it more or less intact." David Burghes of Exeter univer

sity, whose research indicated that the degree pupils in England (and Scotland) were trailing behind their peers in Germany, Singapore and Poland, said part of the blame must lle with the national curriculum, the key stage tests and GCSE.



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Britain blocks EU moves it favours

Stephen Bates in Brussels

HE Government's beef war with the European Union seemed likely to reach new heights of absurdity this week with ministers forced to block agreements on racism, workplace rights for women, and even the fight against fraud in the EU.

In a series of ministerial meetings in Luxembourg on Monday and Tuesday, a succession of ministers ranging from the Europhile Chancellor, Kenneth Clarke, to the Europhobic Home Secretary, Michael Howard, blocked dozens of measures which the Government has

previously said it accepts.

The British tectics coincided with the start of more conciliatory talks between Malcolm Rifkind, the Foreign Secretary, and EU heads of government about a possible framework for the lifting of the beef ban.

With John Major saying he wants the framework agreed before the EU summit in Florence on June 21, it is clear that time to reach an agreement is running out, Officials are proposing that the

ban be lifted progressively on calves born after March 29 this year, when the Government announced full enforcement of restrictions on animal feed, then on meat from animals under 30 months of age. The next steps would be to lift the

ban on animals reared on grass or from BSE-free herds, then on the export of animals to countries which do not have re-export agree-ments to the EU, such as South Korea and Indonesia, so that there is no danger of British meat surreptitiously finding its way back into Europe. Finally the ban would be lifted on the export of embryos.

However, Britain's immediate hopes of lifting the ban on beef derivatives received a blow on Monvoted by 9-6 that the ban on byproducts such as gelatin, tallow and semen should be lifted. But the vote in favour was not enough under the | not madness to say we should be | complex qualified majority voting rules. The Commission will now unilaterally lift the ban on derivatives at its regular meeting in Brus-

sels, probably next week. Among the projects jeopardised at other meetings will be the proposal to designate next year for an haven on the edge of Europe when

offensive against racism in the EU.

Nigerian's claims to have

been tortured as a political activist - which were dismissed as incredible by an immigration appresident, described last week as peal adjudicator six months ago racism and xenophobia, primarily in — has been sent to the Home the British press, over the beef crisis. Office, writes David Pallister. Meanwhile, the Treasury Chief Secretary, William Waldegrave, Ablogun Igbinidu, aged 26, has been detained since he arrived became the first serving cabinet at Heathrow last June and minister to hold out the prospect of

to say we could be outside the EU".

The Treasury and Mr Walde-

grave immediately mounted a dam-

age limitation exercise claiming his remarks were being wrenched out of context and that he merely stated

it was legally possible for Britain t

However, Mr Waldegrave speak

ing on BBC radio, appeared to go

further. He said: "The nub of the

issue is whether we are now finding

Jacques Santer . . . claims of

enophobia in the British press

if it wanted to be."

issues that so grate in terms of our

be outside Europe.

A British Airwaya Concorde leads the Red Arrows in a flypast to mark Heathrow airport's 50th anniversary on Sunday

Britain leaving the EU, in direct con-On the eve of his intended deportation last December, Mr tradiction to the Prime Minister's insistence that anyone making such igbinidu's case became a suggestion is living in cloud notorious when officials from Conservative Central Office Mr Waldegrave claimed the jury were accused of dirty tricks by eaking partial information was still out on Britain's EU memabout him to the Guardian. The new corroboration of his torture claims comes in a medical report from a clinic in his home town of Benin City. It says he was brought to the hospital in October, 1994, "suffering from painful distress with multiple bruises and contusions over the face, arms and legs".

Three British medical experts who have examined Mr lighinidu have also concluded that his claimed political asylum. condition is consistent with having being tortured.

A Benin firm of lawyers has

Doctors back torture claims

now confirmed that he was an activist for the opposition Campaign for Democracy.

£1m award for trauma

Duncan Campbell and Owen Bowcott

HE award of more than £1 million to police officers traumatised by the Hillsborough football stadium disaster in 1989 provoked warnings of "floodgates" opening for similar claims.

Fourteen junior officers who dealt with the dead and dying and suffered psychological problems as a result have accepted £1.2 million. The highest awards are for more than £200,000, which include lost earnings and pension rights. The smallest awards were less than £10,000 for officers still serving. The highest award for stress was nearly £40,000.

The officers include those who entered the pens in which many of the 96 fans at the Liverpool-Nottingham Forest FA Cup semi-final died.

In a settlement agreed at Sheffield High Court, the Chief Constable of South Yorkshire, Sheffield Wednesday FC and the club's engineers admitted liability. officers priv

independence and our sovereignty pressed dismay at the awards which they believe will set a precedent and that Europe is impossible for us. I think the jury is still out on that. It is "could open the floodgates" to other claims from emergency service workers. They fear that the size of outside Europe. Of course Britain can be outside the European Union the settlements, which come from

levels. Only last month, in a speech to the Institute of Directors, John . London Underground is funding Major ruled out leaving Europe: the world's largest study into post traumatic stress disorder after it dis-covered that hundreds of its staff The idea of becoming a trading others fix the rules without any resuffer from the condition commonly

Universities threaten fees

Donald MacLeod

OP universities are threatening to impose fees of £3,000 a year unless the Government pumps more money back into higher education.

The war of nerves between minis ters and university vice-chancellors was stepped up this week, with the official entrance guide warning students not to delay applying for a year in case they are faced with tuition fees in 1997.

"If you have a place this year you should take it, otherwise you might be caught out by a fee next year. Our recommendation is, don't waste a year improving grades," said Tony Higgins, chief executive of the Universities and Colleges Admissions Service. Universities were furious to lose

30 per cent of capital funding for equipment in the November Budget. Faced with a threat by the Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals to levy a £300 fee on new students to make up for cuts in the budget, Gillian Shephard, the tary, set up an inquiry headed by Sir Ron Dearing into higher education

The levy was not implemented but many universities say they cannot wait for Sir Ron's inquiry, which police budgets, will affect staffing is widely expected to recommend tuition fees from 1999 coupled to an

Australian-style graduate tax. "Unless the Government does something about the budget we will be forced to consider fees in 1997. This would certainly be more The move is highly ironic in view gard to our self-interest is living in of the upsurge of what Jacques cloud cuckoo land. We are in Eusanter, the European Commission rope and we are staying there."

associated with war veterans, Symptoms include anxiety, insomnia, inspirate and flashbacks.

1997. This would certainly be more tour inspirate and inspirate and inspirate and flashbacks.

STATE-FINANCED loans to fund litigation for the middle classes and the abolition of free legal aid for benefit claimants are among far-reaching change

In Brief

under consideration in the bittest shake-up of the legal aid system in its 46-year history. THE Queen was forced to cu

Mhort a visit to Wales after police failed to contain a demon stration by about 200 Welsh language students at Aberys-twyth university where she was lue to open a new library.

A LAW to force water companies to compensate customers for cuts in supply was promised as an official report lamned the industry's performance on leaks. Yorkshire Water, the company synonymous with water shortages and public relations disasters, was 'fined" £40 million.

THE AIDS epidemic, which Britain has been more successful in containing than most countries, could slip out of medical control if government funding cuts go ahead, the British Medical Association said.

THE Government has told health authorities to incress the number of intensive care beds for children by more than a fifth over the next four years, although there will be no extra money to do so.

THE chair of European Thought at Balliol College. Oxford University, has been saved by an anonymous donor weeks after the original benefac tor, the grandson of a Nazi war criminal, withdrew his donation

THE Edinburgh lecturer Christopher Brand, who sale he was proud to be a "racist", was ordered to modify his teach ing style after a university inquiry

PETER Thomson, the Australian vicar and spidtual mentor to Tony Blair, has taken up a job as a vicar in north London, 10 minutes from the Opposition leader's home.

S MOKERS are being discriminated against by doctors, who are less likely to offer them heart bypass operations than non-smokers, according to a report funded by the British.

PRISONERS are switching from soft to hard drugs to avoid detection in mandat drug tests, says the Institute fo the Study of Drug Dependence

SEVEN black and Aslan workers at the Ford motor plant in Dagenham are taking the company to an industria tribunal for alleged racism. The claim they have been barred from better-paid jobs because

their colour.

Dunblane massacre 'planned for two years'

Erland Clouston

HERE was a period of time when everything seemed to be very quiet. It seemed last a long time." Although nobody at the inquiry except Eileen Harrild, the part-time PE teacher, had heard the shots in the gym at Dunblane Primary, they reverberated in their heads.

Mary Blake, the supervisory as sistant whose statement transfixed the opening day of Lord Cullen's investigation into the Dunblane massacre last week, had had a similar, hallucinatory experience, during the nightmare of March 13.

doorway of the gym, initially pump-ing a total of 105 bullets late primary one, she said: "The screaming seemed to be inside my head." She made the point twice in a statement

that was read out on her behalf. The massacre may have been planned two years in advance by Thomas Hamilton, the Cullen inquiry into the killings later heard. In an earlier written statement,

nine-year-old Dunblane boy revealed how Hamilton had regularly pressed him for for the past two years for information about the lay-out and timetable of the town's primary school. In the week before March 13, Hamilton had once more Sunblane High School.

"He asked me the way to the gym and the way to the hall. He asked what time certain classes went to the gym and the main way into the school," the boy, who remained unidentified, said.

While witnesses talked of a longheld grievance over the authorities' suspicions about his sports clubs, it appears Hamilton finally settled on his act of revenge only late last year. Between last December and last February, he bought 2,300 rounds - 1,700 of them the 9mm bullets which killed the 16 children and

"the dark figure" was framed in the doorway of the gym, initially pump session of the sports club held at Britain's worst murder case held some sinister revelations: the reported discovery of 63 pairs of boys' home; the fact that he had cut the telephone line to the school before

heading in with four guns and a total of 743 bullets.

But the testimony of the two staff members brought the inquiry to the heart of the tragedy. One minute Mrs Harrild was laying out ropes and beams for the children; the next she was stumbling into the gym store, bullets in her chest and arms. One moment Mrs Blake was looking after her pupils; the next she was lying in a pool of her blood, to police without reprisal.

trying to hide terrified youngsters under a gym mat. Both women told how the fusillade continued, faltered briefly then picked up again as

he proceeded up the hall.

Then Hamilton transferred his empty Browning pistol to his left hand, pulled out his Smith and Wesand fired. The bullet went through his head, hit the ceiling and fell to

the floor. Thousands of gun owners have given up their weapons and surrendered their certificates in the aftermath of Dunblane. Police forces nationwide have received letters from gun owners explaining that the tragedy had made them give up their sport. Under a nation-wide amnesty that started on Mon-

Major slams ethnic mix in Commons

Andrew Culf

OHN MAJOR criticised the eth-Inic composition of the Commons in a television interview las

Speaking on BBC TV's magazine programme, East, the Prime Minis ter said: "The present mix of the House of Commons does not remotely reflect the mix of the coun try as a whole, either in terms of sian candidates, West Indian can didates, or indeed the male and fe

male balance of the population." But it was a matter for local con stituency parties in which Central

Office could not intervene. Drawing on experiences of living with ethnic groups during his up bringing in Brixton, south London, he described himself as "colourblind" and rejected suggestions that the Eurosceptical wing of the party had racist tendencies.

The interviewer, Martin Bashir also questioned the Labour and Lib-eral Democrat leaders, Tony Blair and Paddy Ashdown. Mr Ashdown, who was asked

why there were only three Asian MPs at Westminster, said: "Because the House of Commons is a club fo white middle-class males, and that means others are excluded from it . . I hate the pomposity, the self-satisfaction of this place."

Mr Blair said: "There aren't any roblems with the process of selecon in the sense that the party or the party hierarchy is trying to pre vent Asian people coming through the selection process.
"We are committed to it and are

een to make it possible for more Asian people to come through and represent constituencies, particularly . . . where there's a very high Labour is facing a legal challenge

in Manchester from two Asian party members over selection of parliamentary candidates. The three Asian MPs in the Commons are the Tory, Niranjan Deva

Brentford), and Labour's Kelth Vaz Leicester East) and Piara Khabra Ealing Southall). Diane Abbott, Labour MP for lackney North, one of the small

number of black MPs, accused Labour under Tony Blair of sideining the issue of racial equality. There are no blacks or Asians in new Labour's inner circle. Mr Blair

has to take a much more positive approach."

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LECTIONS in Northern Ireland rarely change anything. Last week's, though, might just begin to break the mould. Like all Ulster elections, it was more about the relative party strengths within the respective unionist and nationalist traditions than about the relative position between them. Mighty important those internal battles among Catholic and Protestant voters have turned out to be this time. There has been a powerful swing to Sinn Fein among nationalist voters, severely weakening John Hume's Social Democratic and Labour Party, which now faces an internal crisis.

Meanwhile David Trimble's Ulster Unionists have won back the leadership of Unionist Northern Ireland from the Democratic Unionists. Even so, the Unionist vote has rarely been more fragmented; both the UUP and the DUP have been eroded by the most effective re-entry since the seventies of smaller unionist parties into the political

There was also something more. Whereas all other elections in Northern Ireland are variations on the rituals by which the essential allegiances are reproduced, this one was also a means to an unprecedented end. It was a preparatory election to the convening on June 10 of all-party talks about the future of Northern Ireland, involving not merely the main constitutional parties but also politicians who speak for the armed militant traditions on both sides. Such talks have not happene before. Now at last they may — and should.

It is essential to remember that the talks are the whole point of these elections. In a narrow sense, they were the price which Mr Trimble's party de manded as the precondition for their participation in negotiations; that condition has now been fulfilled and the unionist parties must therefore play their rightful part inside the talks, not stay on the eidelines. But the talks were also the alternative precondition to arms decommissioning, as put for-ward by the British government following the Mitchell report. That has also been fulfilled, albeit grudgingly at first, by the main nationalist and republican parties. It was right that these parties overcame their suspicion and took part, and they too must have their reward. Now these parties, including Sinn Fein, must play their mandated role in the talks.

There is, however, a crucial problem to be overcome: the absence of an IRA ceasefire. Nothing will be gained by pretending this problem does not exist. The elections have now renewed all mandates, but both the Irish and British governments have said repeatedly that Sinn Fein cannot take part in talks without a ceasefire. How do we therefore get from here to where we want to be?

It is impossible to see how the talks can begin as originally envisaged without an urgent further po-litical initiative, including fresh public assurances from the IRA. Such an obstacle was not intended when the elections were announced, but the end of the ceasefire has created it, and it remains a real stumbling block. If London and Dublin are as serious as they ought to be about getting the talks started, they must now act decisively and in concert to get Sinn Fein into the talks on an acceptable basis. More easily said than done? Of course. But overwhelmingly in everyone's interests too.

Slow return to economic health

OR years, decades even, foreign exchange dealers in the City have operated on two unbreakselling the pound. Second, if there's the slightest risk of a Labour government sell even more pounds.

It may be time for a serious rethink, Sterling has become the darling of the dealers, rising strongly against the German mark despite John Major's precarious grip on power and the Government's policy of non co-operation with Europe over the beef ban. One reason is that the markets can spot a bargain when they see one. A recent report by Salomon Brothers found that the pound's real trade-weighted value against a basket of currencies was 11 per cent below the average in the 25 years from 1970 to 1995.

.But there is more to it than that. The UK economy looks quite attractive to overseas investors, Blair should make clear it is a sell-out too far.

and all the more so because the rest of continental Europe is doing so badly. In fact, the markets probably take roughly the same view of Britain as the Paris-based Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, which last week unveiled its annual health check of the UK.

Like the Government, the OECD believes the UK will soon emerge from its growth pause and perk up nicely in the second half of the year. Like the UK government, it believes the labour market reforms of the past 17 years are good for jobs. So much, so obvious. The OECD report is only released after consultation with the Treasury, so any nasty hits are airbrushed out. What is more, the think-tank's economists are firmly wedded to the idea that open markets, low inflation and labour market flexibility are the route to sustainable growth.

In fact, the OECD's forecasts look pretty accurate. Manufacturing in the UK is having a tough time, but should recover once stronger consumer spending eats into stocks of unsold goods and export markets brighten. Tony Blair could be the first Labour prime minister to inherit an economy in fairly good shape.

The markets would love it if, having stolen some of the Government's economic clothes, Mr Blair continued to wear them after the election. But Labour would do well to pay less attention to the OECD's policy prescriptions than its forecasting, particularly given the new pro-growth, anti-down-sizing mood in the United States.

There is no evidence, thus far, that the current orthodoxy—crushing the last remnants of inflation and pricing frightened workers back into jobs—is the answer to the unemployment problem that is gripping the West. The official jobless total, lest we forget, is still double the level the Conservatives inherited in the bad old days of 1979.

Labour's curfew on common sense

WHEN Parliament re-assembles in Westminster this week, one of the first sounds we wish to hear is a clear repudiation of Jack Straw's confused argument for curfews on children. Tony Blair had better be clear about this. The Straw curfew, whether applied to teenagers or limited to 10-year-olds and under, is a rightwing, law-and-order urch too far.

Mr Straw's idea of a 9pm curfew is a con-trick. It is cheap tough talk about a largely non-existent problem which will be made significantly worse by the cure he proposes. There is absolutely no evidence that a curfew is justified by the current scale of crime, even among juveniles. It is merely a trendy idea picked up off the peg from the US, which with its far higher crime rates and social dis-location is not a good policy model for Britain. Just because Bill Clinton has chosen to run with the curfew notion in election year, for his own rightwing reasons, this does not mean that it is right for Labour. Mr Straw claims to have dreamed up the policy because he has seen young people out on the streets at night while driving home from the Commons. That was the way Mrs Thatcher used to

Anyone who stops to think about the effect of a curfew upon law-abiding and delinquent young people alike will see that it could lead to increases in family violence and to more homeless run-aways. If it is left to local authorities it will be inconsistent. If it is centrally imposed it will be indiscriminate. Either way, the policy would penalise large numbers of good and innocent young people, especially in the black community. But those least able to cope with the effects of the policy will be those most regularly subjected to it. The policy is wrong in effect and wrong in principle interest, or at least of grievance too. Problems of anti-social behaviour cannot be solved by locking them away inside people's homes. It is the social equivalent of brushing the mess under the carpet. The Labour party of all parties should not do that with human beings.

Mr Blair's polisters and his instincts are telling him that Labour cannot afford to be seen as soft on crime, and doubtless this is the mainspring of the increasing rush to the right on law and order. But in the clamour to be tough on crime, Labour seems to have forgotten the other bit that Mr Blair once made famous — about being tough on the causes of crime. Labour's lurch to the right on crime may win it votes (though we wonder about that), but it will lose it political credibility and moral standing. Mr Straw may be happy to make that trade. Mr

The soul of a nation locked in by its fear

Martin Woollacott

SRAELIS have voted, or too many of them have, for the fantasy that there is such a thing as total security and that mastery over their neighbours, never achieved in the past, can somehow now be realised. In doing so they endanger themselves and everybody else. The Israelis risk the future not only of heir region, but add their ominous lecision to all those others, taken or pending, which in many parts of the lobe could mean a return to conlict and war. For peace in the Middle East is not the exclusive property of Israelis, nor of Arabs, ranians and Turks, but concerns he whole world in a way in which that of no other region does.

Israel's creation would have been mpossible without the active support of Western countries and the acquiescence, at least, of many others. Its prosperity and its military power are also achievements to which others have contributed and continue to contribute. In this sense, for all its understandable feelings of loneliness and sometimes of despair, it is an international phenomenon, standing less on its own than other, smaller and weaker, countries. There are some nation vhose elections and whose political decisions concern us all, and in which we feel we have a right, as it were, of indirect representation. Israel is pre-eminent among them. This the Israelis knew, and yet enough of them voted as they did t produce the result we see.

Or perhaps they did not know. In spite of their shrewdness and their worldly knowledge, too many la-raelis lead isolated lives, failing to fully connect their decisions to the fate of those in other countries. They live, the Likud leader Binyamin Netanyahu famously said "in a tough neighbourhood", but the question is whether, mentally, some f them live in a neighbourhood at all, That includes Netanyahu him self, for the picture of the "neighbourhood" that he has conveyed to Israelis is based on a mechanistic and dehumanised model of terrorism. There are tyrannical states, such as Iran, Iraq, and Libya, which inance and control terrorist movements. Their aim is to destroy democracies by terrorising their innocent civilian populations.

There is no causation here, just an idea of evil which appears out of nowhere and must be ruthlessly opposed. In his essays and books on this topic, Netanyahu simply dismisses the argument that violent action almost always has some basis in conditions of oppression, of national interest, or at least of grievance. is justified. It does mean that a purely military response can never be more than temporarily successful. This is the lesson that Labour has learned but Likud has not.

But the secular voter who accepts Netanyahu's diagrammatic analysis of the war of the terrorists against the democracies is joined in Israel by the religious voter who has made territorial control into a sacred imperative. Israel is paying the price for the long appeasement of the religious by the secular parties. A substantial part of religious Israel has demanded and received systematic

subsidies that allow them to live pre-modern life, avoiding produ tive employment, modern educa tion, modern relationships between the sexes. During that same period. they have shed their original objections to the Zionist territorial state There are honourable exceptions but many of them are now amon its most irrational upholders.

Their ambitions now go beyond subsidised autonomy within Israel and a substantial influence on relgious questions. They begin to an pire to a role in leadership and the shaping of the whole society. This is the struggle that has become entire gled with policies toward the Arabs.

There are ironic parallels with the growth of fundamentalism in le amic countries like Turkey, where secular parties similarly funded a religious educational sysem that became the sociological base for a political movement.

This year's shift to separate elections for prime minister and the legislature was intended to ease the post-election task of coalition building by giving the chosen prime minister more leverage. What it has done instead is to uncouple religious from secular politics. People can now avoid a vote for the main parties, with their unavoidably diverse, nego tiated bundles of policies, and castil instead for religious party pro grammes unalloyed by any serious contact with regional or international reality. They have done so, driving up religious representation in the parliament and shuttering the repre sentation of Labour and Likud. That could turn out to be the most impor tant development of this campaign

ELIGIOUS voter and Liku voter alike, have taken the Manichean option as far as peace with the Arabs is concerned It can be argued that this refusal to extend a human understanding to the other side, and indeed to the world at large, characterises man of those who voted for Likud, and for the religious parties. Yel Labour, too, walked on this stage. The election campaign was a strangely distorted affair. If it was for the soul of larael" how was it that one more bu bombing would, it was regularly said, tip it against Shimon Peres?

What nonsense was this, that another 20 Israelis were murder peace would go in the bin? And, he election was about peace, w did Peres have to go to war in h efforts to win votes? Each lead played with the need of angry and fearful people for a simple drama in which what Israelis have is unque tionably theirs, and those who di urb their peace are summarily de with. This ultimately was the peace most at issue in the campaign, the have an absolute right, the obe-sided freedom from bullet or bomb. not the peace which they had still to finish making with others.

But most of those voters do grat that Likud policy does not actual mean Israel can stop counting its dead. It is the emotional safety of an uncomplicated world, perhaps, the appealed more than the physic afety which Netanyahu, no mor than Peres, can promise of deliver.
It is the craving for that emolional safety, far from the messy, infuliating reality of the Middle East, from which Israel needs deliverance. The Washington Post

Likud Win Heralds **Endless Tension**

COMMENT

GUARDIAN WEEKLY

Stephen S. Rosenfeld

HE PEOPLE were voting on themselves in the Israeli elections. After decades spent diligently accumulating the military, political and economic sinews of power, they had reason to think they had seen well to Israel's national security and could finally reap the rewards of their labors. Then it turned out, through the suicide bombers, that their daily per-sonal security was more at risk than ever before, or so it seemed. The appalling notion loomed that peace as conventionally defined would not bring security after all. The opposition leapt to exploit this bitter revelation. It speaks to the tremendous daily pressures that Israelis live under that they apparently yielded, though just barely, to the Likud

I happen to think that Likud is a false prophet and that its message, if not softened, consigns Israel to endless tension and loneliness. But let us not underestimate the appeal of the Likud line. The party would downgrade the requirement for new accords based on mutual consent with neighbors — new accords would come hard now in the best of circumstances - and it would emphasize the uses of Israeli power. This line may have its political and diplomatic downside: it may unset-tle Palestinians, Syrians and others and strain Israel's ties with its friends abroad, Unquestionably, nowever, it has its psychological

donment and, at least in theory puts the defense and welfare of Israell Jews back in their own hands. This is the rationale for the Israeli siege mentality, for the Israeli nuclear bomb, for territorial annexation, for West Bank settlement, for sweeps into Lebanon, for indulgence of the occupation's excesses

and the hard right and for much else. Some of this is offensive or dubious to outsiders but acceptable to many Israelis, including some number who did not vote for Likud. The Jerusalem Report's Ze'ev Chafets notes sagely that this is not a political debate between liberais nd conservatives but a more basic debate between rationalists and irraonalists. The former believe Israel s becoming a nation like any other and can fit in. The latter think the

Jewish people are fated to be pursued and singled out no matter what they do. In the current circumstances the rationalists see great opportunity, the irrationalists great peril, of which the suicide bombers are merely the visible cutting edge. The irrationalists may be beyond the reach of fact or argument. But surely the rationalists have the

weight of reality on their side. In defense and the economy, Israel is among the nations most able to move into high-tech orbit. In diplomacy it is already in high international orbit. Its once-threatening, close-in neighbors are either being drawn into peace or deterred. To contain still-threstening more-distant foes such as Iran and Iraq, Israel is piggybacking on an ever more strategically assertive United States. It retains the possibilvalidity: It answers to widespread ity, though Likud ideology denies it, feelings of endangerment and aban-

country with unrestricted contacts saries, reaching out to reconciliable secularists (Yasser Arafat, Hafez with other countries. These are Assad) while joining others in con-fronting irreconciliable extremists. It is not for distant others to tell

the Israelis to stop worrying about the suicide bombers. But we others founded at Basel in 1897. can note that Israel is not paralyzed n the face of this peril. It was a Labor government, after all, that not only losed off the West Bank and Gaza after the bombings but made its closure structural, permanent and bearable by hiring 200,000 foreign guest workers to replace now-desperate

was Labor that did what was within Israel's power to prevent the feared election run-up bomb from going off. Shimon Peres is variously hailed and put down as a visionary. What that turns out to mean is simply that

fruits that Arab hostility along with their own assertiveness have denied Israelis and their pre-independence redecessors in the century since he modern Zionist movement was Likud still believes that it is not

possible or safe to reach for mutually respectful neighborly contacts and that it is still necessary and even desirable to rely on its continued strategic dominance. It prefers military patrols and territorial buffers of Arab land to a "peace process" with a sponsor, the United States, it trusts only partly and with Arab parties it trusts hardly at all. Likud, in short, is caught in

time warp. It cannot bring itself to recognize that in the great struggle to come abreast of the acceptance that Americans and many others he wants Israel to become a pormal take as their due, Israel is winning.

Give Israel's **New Leader Some Time** EDITORIAL

TT WAS the soldiers, who are most at risk for the choice, whose votes confirmed the victory of Benjamin Netanyahu in the Israeli elections.

His Likud party lost seats and remains second to Labor in the parliament, but he won the popular vote and Netanyahu will form a government.

His first task will be to fine his feet in his own party, where some of his campaign rhetoric and hawks like Gen. Ariel Sharon are tugging him to take early, provocative acts.

This runs against his calculation to start out with words and gestures that will calm the many people everywhere who ask whether his pursuit of security on Likud's terms will create crisis by undercutting further pursuit of Arab-Israeli peace on

respect for the workings of the popular will in a country that enjoys great American favor, and scarcely concealed concern lest Netanyahu unravel a Mideast diplomatic initiative in which the United States and President Clinton personally

But there is also a certain swareness that there may be more to Netanyahu than initially meets the American eye. His campaign played assiduously or popular Israeli fears of terror ism and future uncertainty, but these are specters not unrelated to the uniqueness of life in Israel. There is an element of fundamentalist ideology to his political thinking, but there is a

streak of pragmatism too. The Nixon and de Gaulle precedents make many Americans wonder if a hard-liner cannot traverse certain difficult passages more easily than a moderate. It was Likud, after all, that returned Sinai for a peace with Egypt.

Israel has its continuing obligations to the United States: to keep its policy under the umbrella of the remarkable public and official consensus that has ensured broad American support for the Jewish state since its founding.

An Israeli government that breached that consensus would be taking risks that an Israeli

mutual obligations. One is that they be open and candid in their the first exit polls suggested a Peres victory, Shaath gave the game away by publicly proclaiming his relief.
After Netanyahu emerged as the

Arafat Stunned by Netanyahu's Victory

John Lancaster and Barton Geliman in Gaza City

TUNNED and dismayed by the D victory of Likud party leader Benjamin Netanyahu in Israeli elections, Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat huddled with his top advisers on Friday last week amid fears that etanyahu's win could imperil his hree-year effort to reach a permatent peace with Israel.

Arriving at their beachfront headquarters for a meeting that lasted past midnight, cabinet members uncharacteristically brushed past reporters without answering questions. Arafat has yet to comment publicly.

In several private conversations; nowever, Arafat expressed shock and anguish at the impending de-Peres, with whom he shared a Nobel Peace Prize and a close working relationship in pursuit of a Palesinlan-Israeli settlement.

A Western diplomat, who spoke with Arafat at length on the day after the election, quoted him as saying: The Israeli people have voted against peace. They want peace with lordanians, they want peace with Egyptians, but they don't want peace with Palestinians." The diplomat added: "He's very gloomy. He really sees the peace process grinding to a

An Arafat confident in Gaza de-scribed the Palestinian leader as "in lounged on the beachfront at state of shock".

"Tve seen it happen before," the confidant said. "He gets so preoccupled with thinking about all the manifestations that you just sort of lose him."

Although Netanyahu was harahly critical of Peres' peacemaking efforts during the campaign, saying they had undermined Israel's security, the Likud leader has declared his fundamental support for the Middle East peace process and pledged to continue negotiations with the Palestinians.

Many Palestiniana, moreover. do not seem to share Arafat's pessimistic view. In random interviews along the beachfront here last week, tanyahu's election, saying they were ready for a new interlocutor after months of disappointment with

Peres. Palestinians are intensely frustrated with what they regard as punitive measures by the Israelis, including the demolition of houses, mass arrests and border closures imposed after Palestiniah auicide bombers killed 59 people in Israel

lounged on the beachfront at sunset. "We want to see what

Palestinian day laborers, It was

abor that did not hesitate to violate

ebanon in the latest Israeli sweep. It

Netanyahu is going to do."

On the face of it, the Likud platform — like Netanyahu's campaign rhetoric — is far less accommodi ing to Palestinian hopes. Among other things, Netanyahu has consis tently described Arafat as a terror ist, flatly ruled out creation of s Palestinian state and said he will

ferusalem, the emotional center of he Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Netanyahu, in fact, began his tenure as the head of Likud by opposing the 1993 Palestinian-Israell accord piedging mutual recognition and establishing a limited self-rule authority in Gaza and parts of the West Bank, Since then, the Labor large chunks of land and power to

refuse even to discuss the subject of

Palestinian rule and withdrawn israel's army from the major population centers of the West Bank, except Hebron: Last month, the two sides began the most sensitive phase of their ne-

tanyahu, by contrast, has shown willingness to compromise.

"If you just examine their de-clared position on the Issues that are of utmost importance to us as Palestinians, the prospects for us are very gloomy right now," said Zlad Abu Anr. a political scientist and legislator in the newly elected Palestinian Council. "Labor did not promise us anything, but it did not have . . . fixed positions on these

rest of the Palestinian leadership are trying to appear statesmanlike, asserting that their agreement was with the state of Israel and not with the Labor Party.

"We respect the right of the Is-raell people to choose their own" elected leaders," Planning Minister Nabil Shaath said last week. "We don't accept the premise that this was a vote against the peace Party government has transferred process. That is a commitment by the two sides that is guaranteed by: the world." On election night, however, when

gotiations over Palestinian statehood and borders, the final status of mats placed calls to Arafat. Their accumulated obligations to Ismessage was that Netanyahu would ratel to maintain a level of basic bombers killed by people in Israel
learlier this year—that have cut off million Palestinian refugees. Arafat then of thousands from their jobs.

"We haven't tried the Likud party during the peace era. We have tried the least willing to show during the peace era. We have tried the least willing to show these issues. Ne

mutually agreed terms. Washington is torn between

have made a heavy investment.

public might well find unbearable. Currently that consensus implies support for American peace diplomacy and for the substantial strategic benefits it is in-The two countries also have



deemed a relic of the Cold War and

never before heard in Yugoslavia.

has become the most popular radio

in Bosnia -- as close as most people

think they'll get to the straight story.

In Belgrade and Zagreb, independent media are controlled

by the use of "financial police": gov-

ernment accountants who swood

down on opposition press and find

their bookkeeping wanting. On

April 25, such "accountants" swep

into the office of the Croatian

weekly Panorama and ordered al

magazine remains shut. The reason

alleged "failure to meet technical

health and ecological standards neo

When I asked President Tudina

why his government is suing another independent paper, Novi list

for a ruinous sum, he ordered an

aide to fetch the cover of the satiric

weekly. Feral Tribune, which fea-

tured Tudjman's face atop Rambo's body, "Would any other world leader

put up with this?" he asked. "All

leaders in democracies," I replied

Another technique both Milosevi

and Tudjman use to quiet dissent is

to claim that formerly state-con-

but without much effect on him.

essary for operating."

Michael Haddigan

FEDERAL jury handed White-A water independent counsel Kenneth W, Starr a decisive victory in Little Rock, Arkansas, last week by convicting two of President Clinton's former business partners and Democratic Governor Jim Guy Tucker of nearly all the fraud and conspiracy charges Starr lodged against them 10 months ago.

Tucker, now in his second term. promptly announced his resignation, saying he will leave office by

The jury of nine women and three men ended the three-month-long trial by convicting James B. McDougal, who once owned a Little Rock savings and loan association, of 18 charges of conspiracy and fraud.

McDougal's former wife, Susan, who some courtroom observers believed would be acquitted because of her lesser role in the fraudulent transactions, was convicted on all four charges against her, which included mail fraud and making false financial entries and statements. One juror said later that Clinton's testimony for the defense had no bearing on their decision to convic his former business partners.

Tucker, 52, who succeeded Clinton as governor, was convicted of conspiracy and mail fraud in real estate development schemes that eventually helped destroy McDougal's S&L association. "I'm sure they tried to do the right thing." Tucker said of the jurors. "As it happens, they just did the wrong thing." The three defendants face years in jail and fines amounting to millions

of dollars. They vowed to appeal.
Clinton told reporters at the White House he was saddened by the convictions of his longtime Arkansas friends and former business partners, who had called him to the witness stand to knock down the testimony of the chief prosecution witness. The president sidestepped a question about his credibility as a defense witness, saying that question should be directed to jurors, not him.

The convictions could not have been more timely or cumulatively powerful for Starr, a Republican who has been criticized for his conduct of the investigation, especially by Democratic partisans, The result also represented a vindication for a sometimes risky prosecution strat-egy of drowning the jury with docu-tion campaign.



Bill Clinton meets reporters last week after former associates were found guilty in the Whitewater trial

mentary evidence, in this case more

By contrast, jurors said, the defense presented almost no case, other than the testimony of the president and James McDougal. "I can't understand why they rested so quickly," said one alternate juror,

In Washington, a beaming Starr told reporters he was "obviously gratified" by the trial's outcome and alluded to a home-court advantage that never materialized for the defendants, calling the convictions

tribute to the people of Arkansas." The subtext of the trial, so strongly flavored by Arkansas politics and the election-year struggle between national Democrats and Republicana, was the contest between Starr and the Clinton White House. As independent counsel, Starr had broad prosecutorial powers and grand juries to help him unravel the go-go real estate deals that transformed Little Rock while Clin-

ton was governor in the mid-1980s. Clinton faced no criminal charges n this trial, but the White House clearly did not relish the idea of a jury's branding his Whitewater partners as crooks at the very moment

Although the trial centered on a complex loan-swapping scheme, it touched on the Whitewater real estate development, in which the Clintons and McDougals were partners. Prosecution witness David Hale testified that Clinton, as governor, asked him to approve an illegal \$300,000 loan to Susan McDougal. About \$50,000 of the proceeds of that loan

went into a Whitewater account. Clinton, in videotaped testimony played in court, heatedly denied that he urged Hale to make the loan. Risa Gayle Briggs, a 41-year schoolteacher who sat on the jury, said the panel did not try to decide whether Clinton or Hale was telling the truth. Clinton's name "was brought up maybe once in passing." she said. "The president's testimony had nothing to do with the transactions we were honing in on and discussing.
"We had enough credible wit-

nesses that we didn't have to rely on Clinton or Hale," she said, "We drew diagrams, we story-webbed it out, we did a time line, we went over everything with a fine-tooth comb."

In Washington, Republican members of Congress said the verdicts legitimize the congressional inquiries

Free Press Is Key to Healthy Opposition in the Balkans

Sarajevo, Belgrade and Zagreb and talks with the leaders of all three countries, I am convinced a healthy root here without stronger Western pressure on Serb, Croatian and losnian leaders. All three leaders Slobodan Milosevic, Franjo Tudjman and Alija Izetbegovic speech and free press in Dayton, delivering on that promise.

The Balkan media's plight goes much lesser degree, Sarajevo that

trolled media were "improperly privatized." Using that device, Serbia police entered Belgrade's Studio B Bosnia, Serbia and Croatia. and pulled the plug. Now all Serb television is under Milosevic's control. But Milosevic assured me, re vealingly, that he has instructed the media to damp down their former anti-Muslim and anti-Croat fervor and get behind the Dayton Accords. print, and thus manipulates the in dependent dailies' circulation. Nasa Borba, the only major independent daily in Serbia, struggles to reach more than 10,000 readers, whereas

ndicted war criminal who still leads the Bosnia Serbs — Radovan Karadzie — spotted their Sarajevo plates and hauled them in for "questioning." in Bosnia, as elsewhere, television is how most people get their news. What limited television exists s under the control of President lzetbegovic's ruling party. This makes it difficult for opposition candidates such as former prime minis ter Haris Silajdic to get their

Kati Marton is chair of the ...

COMMENT **Katl Morton**

THEY don't shoot reporters -A or even jail them anymore — in postwar former Yugoslavia. Today the authoritarian governments of the Balkans use more subtle measures to control the media.

After a 10-day fact-finding trip to democratic opposition will not take promised to uphold the right to free but all three are falling far short of

much further than the issue of the population's legitimate rights of free speech and free press. It was the media in Belgrade, Zagreb and, to a fueled the ethnic passions that unleashed the war. It is now essential for the security of Europe and the United States that we insist on the establishment of free media in

The situation is most critical in Bosnia. In September, elections will be held that will anchor the fragile entity of Bosnia-Herzegovina to a new central government. Without a free press, the dream of reviving a multithnic society after years of savage violence will fade. Although the guns that killed 45 reporters during he war are quiet now, it is still too dangerous for Bosnian journalists to cover more than a sliver of the counry. The brave ones who try come Politika, the pro-Milosevic paper, back shaken from the experience, with stories of being pulled off the road when Serb militia loyal to the never suffers from a newsprin shortage and reaches 300,000.

But there are many pressu points. Serbia badly wants the re maining sanctions lifted. Bosnia at well as Serbia and Croatia, ace Western investment, IMP loans, Et ropean Union membership and re spectability. A price must be exacted for all those things, and part of the price should be the ingredient, dist separates a democracy from other forms of government: a free press.

voters, too. Sneering passes at radical stance because it says to hel

with them all. In fact, it's the passive

option, and ultimately reactionary. It requires no action and little thought

Charles Trueheart in Toronto

EFORE anything else happens every morning at Apple-wood Heights Secondary School, the public-address system crackles to life with the lilting voices of a choir singing "O Canada."

Teachers in the noisy corridors

bark "Stand still!" The students comply, falling silent and offering a freeze-frame of the Canadian future: Skin color comes in every hue from pink to chocolate, Asian eyes abound. A few boys wear the topknots of adolescent Sikhs. Three brown-eyed girls stand in their floorlength silks and modest head scarves. When the national anthem is done, a white Canadian teacher offers them an Islamic greeting. Applewood Heights, a virtually

all-white, English-speaking suburban high school two decades ago, today is a place where scores of cultures, ethnicities and languages swim together. A third of its 1,500 students were born outside Canada, and nearly 40 percent first learned a language other than English. Little more than a third are of European ancestry. Almost half are immigrants, or the children of immigrants, from somewhere in Asia.

Applewood Heights looks a lot like Toronto. It offers a glimpse of a generation of new Canadians who have grown up under one of the world's more welcoming immigration policies, and one of the more aggressive programs of promoting | services have made multiculturalism | or Greek, or Vietnamese. Toronto

nd preserving immigrant heritage. Twenty-five years ago, well before other Western countries, the Canadian government adopted the concept of multiculturalism. The obective was a "mosaic," a multi-hued collection of distinctive identities, in contrast to the traditional American preference to stir immigrants into a

To help meet the objective, federally financed and locally administered programs range from settlement services and legal aid to "ethno-specific" business associa-tions and summer street festivals. The official rhetoric of multiculturalism and government largess have sent a message of respect to newly arrived immigrants and refugees and to prospective ones the world

Strains on Canada's extensive medical and social safety net and a changing political climate have driven the total Canadian take of immigrants downward from 250,000 a year to 220,000. But at 1 percent, hat is still the highest proportion of population of any Western country excent Sweden.

Canada has an insignificant llegal-immigrant problem compared with the United States - in part because of the relative ease of legal entry. But many Canadians have begun to wonder about the costs of that approach. Persistent unemployment and deep cuts in basic social seem to many like a luxury.

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N EW genetic tests marketed as ways of predicting cancer could lead to discrimination against some people for health insurance on the basis of their DNA.

As companies begin to market their new tests for breast and bowel cancer, as well as Alzheimer's disease, scientists, patients' groups and health insurers are rushing to stake out positions on what restrictions, if any, should be placed on the commercialisation of genetic tests. The strained positions some are taking reveal the extent to which science is intermingled with politics and business.

Congress, for example, is prepar-ing legislation that would prohibit genetic discrimination against some people — but not against others. The Food and Drug Administration, on the defensive amid corporate claims of over-regulation, has declared it has the authority to regulate genetic tests but hastens to add that it has no plans to do so. And in perhaps the most unusual twist, many advocates of patients' rights who usually clamour for access to

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They would preclude companies from using genetic information to deny an insured person continued the latest cancer breakthroughs are | changes health plans. But they offer asking that some genetic tests be | little or no protection to people who do not yet have insurance and are The stakes are high on both trying to get it. And other safe-

According to many experts, the last hope for intelligent guidance on the gene-testing issue may be a feddesperately want to peek at their eral task force convened last year. clients' genes to help predict their Made up of representatives from medical fates — and to set their in the medical profession, the testing and insurance industries and pa-On the other hand, many scientients' rights groups, it is preparing tists, doctors and patients' groups a report on the ethical and legal im-



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Three Guilty in Fraud Trial

Michael Haddigen

FEDERAL jury handed White water independent counse Kenneth W. Starr a decisive victory in Little Rock, Arkansas, las week by convicting two of President Clinton's former business partners and Democratic Governor Jim Guy Tucker of nearly all the fraud and conspiracy charges Starr lodged against them 10 months ago.

Tucker, now in his second term promptly announced his resignation, saying he will leave office by

The jury of nine women and three men ended the three-month-long trial by convicting James B. McDougal, who once owned a Little Rock savings and loan association, of 18 charges of conspiracy and fraud.

McDougal's former wife, Susan who some courtroom observers believed would be acquitted because of her lesser role in the fraudulent transactions, was convicted on all four charges against her, which included mail fraud and making false financial entries and statements. One juror said later that Clinton's testimony for the defense had no bearing on their decision to convict his former business partners.

Tucker, 52, who succeeded Clinton as governor, was convicted o conspiracy and mail fraud in real estate development schemes that eventually helped destroy McDougal's S&L association. "I'm sure they tried to do the right thing," Tucker said of the jurors. "As it happeus, they just did the wrong thing."

The three defendants face years in iall and fines amounting to millions of dollars. They vowed to appeal.

Clinton told reporters at the White House he was saddened by the convictions of his longtime Arkansas friends and former business partners, who had called him to the witness stand to knock down the testimony of the chief prosecution witness. The president sidestepped a question about his credibility as a defense witness, saying that question should be directed to jurors, not him.

The convictions could not have been more timely or cumulatively powerful for Starr, a Republican who has been criticized for his conduct of the investigation, especially by Democratic partisans. The result also represented a vindication for a sometimes risky prosecution strategy of drowning the jury with docu- tion campaign.



Bill Clinton meets reporters last week after former associates were found guilty in the Whitewater trial

than 600 exhibits.

By contrast, jurors said, the defense presented almost no case, other than the testimony of the president and James McDougal. "I can't understand why they rested so quickly," said one alternate juror.

In Washington, a beaming Starr told reporters he was "obviously gratified" by the trial's outcome and alluded to a home-court advantage that never materialized for the defendants, calling the convictions "a tribute to the people of Arkansas."

The subtext of the trial, so strongly flavored by Arkansas politics and the election-year struggle between national Democrats and Republicans, was the contest between Starr and the Clinton White House. As independent counsel, Starr had broad prosecutorial powers and grand juries to help him unravel the go-go real estate deals that transformed Little Rock while Clinton was governor in the mid-1980s.

Clinton faced no criminal charges this trial, but the White House clearly did not relish the idea of a jury's branding his Whitewater partners as crooks at the very moment the president geared up his reelec-

Although the trial centered on a complex loan-swapping scheme, it touched on the Whitewater real estate development, in which the Clintons and McDougals were partners. Prosecution witness David Hale testifled that Clinton, as governor, asked him to approve an illegal \$300,000 loan to Susan McDougal. About \$50,000 of the proceeds of that loan

went into a Whitewater account. Clinton, in videotaped testimony played in court, heatedly denied that he urged Hale to make the loan. Risa Gayle Briggs, a 41-year schoolteacher who sat on the jury, said the panel did not try to decide whether Clinton or Hale was telling the truth. Clinton's name "was brought up maybe once in passing," she said. "The president's testimony had nothing to do with the transac-

"We had enough credible witnesses that we didn't have to rely on Clinton or Hale," she said. "We drew diagrams, we story-webbed it out, we did a time line, we went over everything with a fine-tooth comb." In Washington, Republican memhers of Congress said the verdicts legitimize the congressional inquiries

Free Press Is Key to Healthy Opposition in the Balkans

COMMENT **Kati Morton**

THEY don't shoot reporters -👢 or even jail them anymore — in postwar former Yugoslavia. Today the authoritarian governments o the Balkans use more subtle measures to control the media.

After a 10-day fact-finding trip to Sarajevo, Belgrade and Zagreb and talks with the leaders of all three countries, I am convinced a healthy democratic opposition will not take root here without stronger Western pressure on Serb, Croatian and Bosnian leaders. All three leaders - Slobodan Milosevic, Franjo Tudjman and Alija Izetbegovic promised to uphold the right to free speech and free press in Dayton. but all three are falling far short of delivering on that promise.

The Balkan media's plight goes much further than the issue of the population's legitimate rights of free speech and free press, it was the media in Belgrade, Zagreb and, to a much lesser degree, Sarajevo that fueled the ethnic passions that unleashed the war. It is now essential for the security of Europe and the United States that we insist on the establishment of free media in Bosnia, Scrbia and Croatia.

The situation is most critical in Bosnia. In September, elections will be held that will anchor the fragile entity of Bosnia-Herzegovina to a new central government. Without a free press, the dream of reviving a multiethnic society after years of savage violence will fade. Although the guns that killed 45 reporters during the war are quiet now, it is still too dangerous for Bosnian journalists to cover more than a sliver of the couniry. The brave ones who try come back shaken from the experience, with stories of being pulled off the road when Serb militia loyal to the indicted war criminal who still leads the Bosnia Serbs — Radovan Karadzic — spotted their Sarajevo plates

and hauled them in for "questioning." In Bosnia, as elsewhere, television is how most people get their news. What limited television exists is under the control of President Izetbegovic's ruling party. This makes it difficult for opposition candidates such as former prime minister Haris Silaidic to get their message out in the election campaign. Ironically, Radio Free Europe,

deemed a relic of the Cold War and never before heard in Yugoslavia has become the most popular radio in Bosnia — as close as most people think they'll get to the straight story.

In Belgrade and Zagre independent media are controlle by the use of "financial police"; go ernment accountants who swoo down on opposition press and find their bookkeeping wanting, Or April 25, such "accountants" swep into the office of the Croatia weekly Panorama and ordered all staff to leave in 15 minutes. The magazine remains shut. The reason alleged "failure to meet technical, health and ecological standards necessary for operating."

When I asked President Tudimar why his government is suing another independent paper, Novi List, for a ruinous sum, he ordered an aide to fetch the cover of the satiric weekly, Feral Tribune, which featured Tudjman's face atop Rambo's body, "Would any other world leader put up with this?" he asked 'All leaders in democracies," I replied but without much effect on him.

Another technique both Milosevic and Tudiman use to quiet dissentia to claim that formerly state-con trolled media were "improperly pri vatized." Using that device, Serbia rollice entered Belgrade's Studio B and pulled the plug. Now all Serb elevision is under Milosevic's con rol. But Milosevic assured me, re vealingly, that he has instructed the media to damp down their forme anti-Muslim and anti-Croat fervo and get behind the Dayton Accords.

Milosevic also controls news dependent dailies' circulation. Nasa Borba, the only major independen daily in Serbia, struggles to reach more than 10,000 readers, whereas Politika, the pro-Milosevic paper never suffers from a newsprint shortage and reaches 300,000.

But there are many pressure points. Serbia badly wants the r maining sanctions lifted, Bosais as well as Serbia and Croatia, nee Western investment, IMF loans, El ropean Union membership and r spectability. A price must be exacted for all those things, and part of that price should be the ingredient the separates a democracy from other forms of government: a free press.

Kati Marton is chair of the Committee to Protect Journalists

All of us have a powerful interest in

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Congress could make it illegal for nsurers and employers to discriminate on the basis of genetic information. Both the House and Senate versions of health care bill contain language that would prohibit some forms of genetic discrimination.

They would preclude companies from using genetic information to deny an insured person continued nsurance when that person changes health plans. But they offer little or no protection to people who do not yet have insurance and are

According to many experts, the profits, is pushing hard to get its last hope for intelligent guidance on tests to market. Similarly, insurers | the gene-testing issue may be a feddesperately want to peek at their clients' genes to help predict their medical fates — and to set their inand insurance industries and pa-On the other hand, many scientients' rights groups, it is preparing tists, doctors and patients' groups | a report on the ethical and legal in-



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Coming Out of the Shadows

Anthony Olcott

SPIES WITHOUT CLOAKS The KGB's Successors By Amy Knight Princeton University Press. 318pp. \$24.95

OW THAT the euphoria of early post-communism is abating, even casual observers know that Russia's "report card" on the eve of its fifth anniversary is decidedly mixed: Russian zillionaires build villas on the Mediterranean, but old people die of cold and hunger, their pensions unpaid; Russia has freely elected two parliaments, but one was closed by Boris Yeltsin's tanks, while its successor has proven largely impotent because of constitutional changes imposed by Yeltsin; a presidential campaign is under way, but there are widespread accusations that the winner is a foregone conclusion; freedom of the press has become a vigorous habit, yet public opinion can do nothing to stop the bloody and endless war which the government is waging against its own citizens in Chechnya.

What is documented by Amy Knight's meticulous study, however, is that "free Russia" is even more of a fiction than most of us might have supposed, beginning with the attempted coup which created Yeltsin's image as the "democrat on the tank." Knight convincingly argues that the attempted coup of August 1991 was little more than elaborate political theater, in which Gorbachev, Yeltsin and the other actors played tightly scripted parts.

A major author of that script, or so Knight implies, was Russia's security forces, the focus of her book. Alone of all major Soviet

institutions, the KGB and its succes | what now are foreign states. sors have survived the transition to independent Russia with their enormous powers all but un-

changed. Indeed, as Knight documents, the successors of the KGB have actually increased, in both number and reach, since the birth of indepen-

The KGB has now fissioned into five separate agencies in Russia alone. There are also security agencies and ministries in the 14 other ex-Soviet states, most of them still staffed by people who have at least personal allegiances, if not more, to their colleagues in To be sure, there have been some

changes; shrinking state revenues have crimped security budgets, while public hostility to the KGB has spawned some efforts to reform that vast bureaucracy. However, in Knight's recounting, the KGB's heirs appear now to be even more vigorous than was their parent; budgetary woes have been offset by the movement of former KGB personnel (and many sub-agencies) into lucrative businesses, while halfhearted parliamentary attempts to. establish civilian oversight of the Federal Security Service, heir to the domestic surveillance functions of

the KGB, were easily stopped. Under Evgeni Primakov (now foreign minister), the portfolio of the Foreign Intelligence Service (FIS), heir to the KGB's foreign intelligence branch, has even expanded to include formation of Russia's

foreign policy. What Spies Without Cloaks does not try to explain, however, is what the principles which shape it. For all the mystery which surrounded the old KGB, we know at least that its army of agents, informants and enthusiasts worked for the leadership of the Communist Party, maintaining and extending Soviet authority. The collapse of communism has brought no replacement ideology, and so we have no statement of the ends toward which Rus-



sia's new security forces are really working or for whom. Knight argues that strengthening

democracy and encouraging the development of rule by law in Russia are no more the goals of the KGB's successors than they were of the KGB. She also suggests strongly that the allegiances of most, or perhaps all, of the KGB's successors are, first, to their own preservation and then to individuals such as Boris Yeltsin, rather than to such abstractions of citizenship as the office of president.

Even more unsettling, Knight suggests that Russia's new security forces are not only continuing the same kinds of skulduggery as they undertook in the past — examples cited include the murders of a newspaper editor and a Helsinki Watch nonitor — but are now also expertly manipulating public opinion in Russia and the rest of the world to obscure and disguise what they do.

What Knight suggests, in sum, is that the old client-master relationship between Russia's elite and the KGB has not only been reversed but may even have vanished, because these "children of the KGB" have subsumed large chunks of Russia's

economy and government.

If Spies Without Cloaks is corect, much of Russia today is little nore than a mutant KGB, the communist ideology it once served now replaced by ruthless devotion to great-power politics and botton-line capitalism. That possibility is so disquieting that it is tempting to wish that Knight had allowed her book also to step beyond sober analysis and so suggest ways in which America might respond to a Russia which remains clutched by these offspring of the KGB.

Anthony Olcott, associate professo of Russian at Colgate University, is writing a book about Russian crime

Le Monde

France still plays kingmaker in Africa

Jean-Pierre Langeilier

O INTERVENE or not to intervene? That is the question France has faced every time a crisis has blown up in its French-speaking "patch" of Africa in the past 30 years or so. Should it ignore cries for help from this or that leader, or refuse to assist a friendly regime in its time of need?

Or should it help the regime's leaders to regain control of the situation, thus triggering the fury of their opponents? This is an area where the right decision is bound, to some extent, to be the wrong one. In almost all such cases France decides to step in and play at being policeman. But more and more often it does so only reluctantly.

In the case of the recent troop mutiny in the Central African Republic, where the situation has now returned to normal, a policy of non-intervention would have been fraught with danger. First, there was the unacceptable risk of deliberately endangering the lives of the 4,000 or so expatriates (half of them French) who live there. It is the duty of any state to guarantee the salety of its nationals, at home and elsewhere, whenever it is in a position to do so.

Another risk was that fighting between rebel and loyalist forces would degenerate into a civil war of the kind that has recently left a trail of death and destruction in Liberia

have unnerved the leaders of the 24 African countries bound to France by defence and/or military agreements, which rely on Paris for support and protection if things go

France deserting its friends. Seven presidents made their feelings clear at the start, by approving the decision to intervene. In so doing they were clearly sending warning signals to any of their underpaid troops

rebel and, implicitly, a message of encouragement to all those soldiers who, in these times of austerity and transition to democracy, have suffered a loss of status, prestige and buying power.
Non-intervention in the Central

African Republic would, above all, have endangered France's strategic and economic interests in a country which - from a military standpoint - has become its centre of operations in the heart of Africa. Of the 8,000 or so French troops based in seven black African countries, some 1,400 are stationed in the Central African Republic, both in the capital Bangui and in the western town of

France decided to intervene because it knew it could influence events. "Africa is the only continent where France, with 500 men, can change the course of history," noted Louis de Guiringaud when he was foreign minister 20 years ago. His remark still holds true.

Paris had another good reason to help President Ange-Félix Patassé. He is the first leader of the Central African Republic to have been more or less fairly elected, in September 1993, with 53 per cent of the vote the kind of score not often encountered in Africa.

Ever since it first stepped in to restore to power the Gabonese president, Léon M'ba, in 1964, France has regularly intervened in the af fairs of independent African states - once every two years on average. It has done so mostly in compliance with existing agreements and at the request of embattled leaders, or else with their blessing, as was the case with the Shaba operation in Zaire in 1977 and 1978.

More recently France has also acted to thwart individual ventures, such as the attempted coup in the Comoros by veteran mercenary Bob Denard in October 1995, or for mainly humanitarian reasons, as in Operation Turquoise in Rwanda 16 months earlier. France's Rwandan who might have been tempted to excursion earned it a tremendous

The mutineers' spokesman in the Central African Republic, Sergeart Cyrisque Souké (second left), flanked by French soldiers at a base near Bangui following talks with the French army mediator PHOTO FRANCOIS MOR

amount of flak, and government officials admit in private that they would now think twice before organising such an operation again.

One thing is certain: the time has come for France to revise its military agreements in Africa. The vast majority of them were concluded in the wake of independence or, at the latest, in the seventies at a time when black Africa was the theatre of superpower rivalry and France was none too particular about the track record of friendly regimes as long as they stayed on its side.

HOSE agreements, which sometimes comprised secret clauses and were left deliberately ambiguous (where is the dividing line between a country's sovereignty, a regime's stability and leader's political fate?), allowed France to come to the defence of countries when they were attacked, as in the case of Chad in the eightles. But most of the time such agreements simply enabled leaders and regimes under fire from within to survive

Even if France's agreements with African states are completely revised they will certainly continue to allow some latitude in their interpretation when it comes to the crunch. France will continue to respond on a one-off basis and judge each request for help on its merits.

It is only to be hoped that each time it has to take such a decision Paris pays more attention than i has in the past to factors directly affecting the peoples concerned such as the degree to which their leaders govern democratically, competently and honestly. But it would be naive to expect France to overlook its own strategic and commer-

cial interests. France should strive to dissuade African leaders from regarding mili-tary agreements as a form of "life insurance" for themselves. It should also try, in a crisis, to impose a compromise acceptable to all parties as It did in the Central African Republic. But that means stepping in negotiating and arbitrating as in the "good old" colonial times. And what guarantee is there that promises made by either side will be kept?

It is far better to prevent crises than to have to deal with them by, for example, helping African states to put their economies in order, by urging them to behave in

a more democratic way, and by tempering assistance and encouragement offered with pressure and vigilance.

But where is the thin line between respecting sovereignty and interfering? It would be unfair to accuse France of intervening too massively in one case (the Central African Republic), not massively enough in another (the aftermath of the January coup in Niger), and too late in a third (Rwanda two years ago).

The worst option probably would be to leave Africa to its own devices and its "bad old" habits - in particular tribalism — or to abandon it to the tender mercies of this or that bunch of disgruntled army officers. thus pushing it further on to the economic sidelines.

Fortunately, that is an unlikely scenario, as France and French-speaking Africa will remain wedded together for some time to come. Their common destiny, cemented by a combination of mutual interests and affection, is embodied not only in the French language, but in many forms of co-operation that involve much more than the mere dispatching of legionaries.

On the Shifting Sands of Time

Thomas W. Lippman

THE MIDDLE EAST A Brief History of the Leat 2,000 Years By Bernard Lewis Scribner, 448pp. \$30

A NYONE with more than a pass-ing interest in the Middle East can be assumed to have read certain landmark books about the region's history and culture. Lists might vary, but most would probably include Albert Hourani's history of the Arabs, Lord Kinross's chronicle The Ottoman Centuries, P.J. Vatikiotis's history of modern Egypt and The Arab Awakening, the classic treatise on the rebirth of Arab nationalism by George Antonius.

The question presented Bernard Lewis's new history of the Middle East, then, is, who needs it? Why would anyone familiar with the region's dynastic histories and the 7th century to its apogee in the Mid-

Princeton and probably this country's most renowned scholar of the But then he offers multiple and grafted onto the heartland of Islam takes to readdress the questions: a disciplined elegance in his prose, an encyclopedic knowledge that enables him to illuminate the links between events separated by hundreds of years and thousands of

bloodstained past.

West is all but over. Islam loses, and has been losing since the Ottomans were compelled to sign the Treaty of Carlowitz in 1699.

Readers who thought the Iranian revolution of 1979 or the more recent fundamentalist challenge in Algeria represented a resurgence of Islam will see them reevaluate here as mere spasmodic twitches of a vanguished culture. Not inferior, necessarily, but vanquished, by su-perior Western firepower and by the inability of Muslim societies to generate and adopt new ideas that would offer resistance to Western

Lewis chronicles the rise of Islam from its humble beginnings in the rise of Islam need to read a new survey of these familiar events?

dle Ages and its greatest triumph in the seizure of Constantinople from Lewis, professor emeritus at the disintegrating Byzantine empire

Middle East, has the qualities it | persuasive explanations of the decline of Muslim power in relation to and has continued almost without

interruption for 550 years. World, the Europeans had the miles, and a unique ability to relate | wealth needed to sustain military | in Islamic doctrine or history." campaigns against the Ottomans. It is the long twilight struggle and only note that the Arab armies Thomas W. Lippman, a Washington were able to sweep across the Post diplomatic correspondentials. contemporary events to the region's | campaigns against the Ottomans.

ceived and valuable work that toman fleet designed for the makes two fundamental points: Mediterranean. Islamic indifference Everything that happens from Afghanistan to Morocco has parallels and precedents in the past; and the struggle between Islam and the Struggle between Islam

"The defeat that was suffered at Vienna [in 1683] and sealed at Carlowitz inaugurated a long period of almost unrelieved Muslim retreat before Christian power," according

Within 50 years of the retreat from Vienna, Lewis recounts, the Ottomana were decorating a new mosque in Istanbul in the Italian paroque style, a cultural capitulation "as startling as would be arabesque decorations in a Gothic cathedral. It is the first eign of faltering self-

■ HE PROOFS of Islam's decline L are multiple: the ease with which Napoleon's army waltzed into Egypt in 1798, the inability of the Arabs to seize the moment and dictate their own fate when the Ottoman empire dissolved after World

by the will of the West. be restoring true Islamic government but . . . does so in the form of a writ-With resources from the New | ten constitution and an elected parlia-

ment - neither with any precedent | that histories of the Middle East | communities.

and the second s

rage of young Muslim militants today and for past developments such as the widespread Arab sympatoms. But Lowis devotes consider thy for Nazi Germany. The Araba' first priority in the 1930s and 1940s was to get the British out of their territory. Therefore, against their own long-term interests, "significant numbers of Arabs favoured the Germans, who sent the Jews to Palestine, rather than the British, who tried to keep them out."

While his narrative is generally chronological, Lewis excels at explaining events as parts of a pattern rather than discrete phenomena. Consider this passage: "By a tragic paradox, only the reinforcement of the state could preserve the cohesion of the community, and the Islamic state, as it grew stronger, was obliged to make many compromises on the social and ethical ideas of islam." That may sound like an analysis of contemporary Algeria or Pakistan, but it appears in Lewis's account of the early years of the caliphate, in the 8th century.

For another example. Lewis makes clear that Saddam Hussein's seizure of Kuwait in 1990 was not. exceptional. Local despots have than Lewis to decide what is essen-Middle East since time immemorial. understand the Middle East. Taken The strong attack the weak; the as a whole, this work provides an in-Lewis finds Islam in retreat even in weak survive if it suits the purposes and Israel was saved in 1973.

often begin with the rise of Islam

able time to explaining what the wars between Byzantium and Persia were about, and it turns out that many of the issues were similar to those being played out today in the selection of pipeline routes for Caspian sea oil. Albert Hourani's A flistory Of

The Arab Peoples is 551 pages long: ira M. Lapidus's A History Of islamic Societies is 1,002 pages. It striving for brevity, Lewis is in-evitably obliged to shortchange or ignore people and events that might merit longer treatment. The rebellion of the Zanj — a rising of black slaves against the Abbasid caliphate in Baghdad in the 9th century, well described in Lewis's earlier works - is all but ignored here. The Baghdad Pact, a crucial development in modern Arab history, is barely mentioned. Egyptian president Gamal Abdel Nasser appears only briefly T.E. Lawrence ("Lawrence of Arabia") and Israell prime minister David Ben-Gurion not at all.

But no scholar has more standing valuable guide to understanding Europe that set in shortly afterward | revolutionary Iran, which "claims to | of some powerful protector to save | critical region of the world where. them, as Kuwait was saved in 1991 peace seems to break out only when some empire grows powerful In his prologue Lewis observes enough to impose its will on all

The result is a brilliantly con- for ocean voyages overcame an Ot- ing to Lewis, that accounts for the Fertile Crescent and North Africa the author of "Understanding islam"

Chile counts cost of its economic 'miracle'

Quy Herzlich in Santiago

CHILE has some enviable nat-ural resources. In 1995 the Canadian group Barrick Gold invested \$500 million in its 800 sq km gold-mining concession at El Indio in the heart of the Andes, 300km north of the capital Santiago. That same year, almost half of foreign inestment was in the mining sector:

The government intends fully to exploit the country's natural wealth overdependent on raw materials.

ing a tight fiscal policy, Chile has markets and developed some sophis Employment is a major concern. eighbouring countries.

ter, Alvaro Garcia, says he expects | Yet the government has been set-1996 to show an increase in investment and a reduction in unemployment as well as lower inflation. But the Chilean model has its

weak points too. Sixty per cent of

exports are still based on natural resources, which are only partly processed at home. Two-thirds of the rise in the value of exports in 1995 was due to increases in the prices of raw material s. A handful of large companies con-

Chile's Socialist economy minis ernment intrusion in the economy. When he was elected president in 1 partly financed by the private sec-

ting up a series of aid programmes for small and medium-sized companies which, it admits, have greater difficulty in innovating, marketing their products and obtaining bank loans. The state helps to finance training and technical assistance programmes, shoulders the extra cost of loans, and pays for the promotion of investments and sales abroad and part of the cost of credit insurance.

ministry officials point out that mains in equilibrium and that the But in the past two years progress Since the mid-eighties, by encourging inward investment and follow
Chilean industry has opened up a government's policy of "growth with number of lucrative niche export fairness" is a success.

annual rate of 6.5 per cent, a slow mining and forestry, they say they culture," says Garcia. "Other secbut steady fall in inflation, and investment amounting to 28 per cent
of GDP. The Chileans have even
an "industrial policy", a notion that
ing two sets of problems, those of a

tors will have to find them jobs." As
tors

and the second of the second o

fight against poverty and announced a "national crusade". That priority is now accepted as a good thing by all levels of society. "As growth continues, it is becoming less and less acceptable that people shold be left in a state of poverty," says José Antonio Guzman, head of Chile's Production As a result of economic growth

and social spending, poverty has de-creased appreciably since the return of democracy. Only slightly more than a quarter of the population now while at the same time steering tinue to corner 60 per cent of the exclear of a development model that is port trade. Although economy that the balance of payments re-If this policy works, it will ensure lives below the poverty line, as

stopped altogether in 1994: despite a

March 1994, Eduardo Frei said he tor, which aims to reduce the bottlewas going to give priority to the necks in the economy caused by in-

adequate infrastructure.

But Frei may find it difficult to honour his pledge to eliminate what he calls "destitution" — the plight of those without any means of subsistence - by the end of the century. The proportion of people qualifying as destitute was brought down from 14 to 8 per cent in the early nineties, but is no longer decreasing.

The economic transformation has brought a new social problem. The salaries of the highest paid are rising rapidly, while low wages are stagnating. There is an increasing; economy and others, such as traditional farming, old industries, and number of jobs has eased off. It even even sections of the civil service.

The poor are now less numerous had 12 years of growth at an average ticated engineering techniques in Each year 50,000 people leave agriproduct, unemployment rose from are widening," says the Socialist tors will have to find them jobs." As | 4.6 to 5.9 per cent. And the business | senator Carlos Ominami, who was economy minister under President Patricio Aylwin in the early nineties. begun to invest in the economies of the neo-liberals who call the tune in leighbouring countries.

the neo-liberals who call the tune in developing country and those of a long-standing industrialised country.

developing country and those of a long-standing industrialised country.

The government has launched a long-standing industrialised country.

with "growth with fairness".

Missing, presumed bullied to death

Marie Jégo in Moscow reveals the deadly terror unleashed on conscripts in the Russian army

HE tiny office of the Committee of Soldiers' Mothers in the centre of Moscow is constantly packed with middle-aged women wearing headscarves. They peer anxiously at handwritten notices such as: "Seek eyewitness reports of how my son, Sasha Volkov (Regiment 956013) died in Grozny in February 1996", or "Anyone who saw Private Vitya D (Regiment 875401) being thrown by his comrades from the Moscow-Voronezh night train please contact his family in Moscow with a view to giving evidence".

The Russian "mothers" had begun to mobilise their forces well before the war in Chechenia. In 1989 a group of 10 women, angered by the deaths of their conscript sons "in peacetime", founded the Committee of Soldiers' Mothers.

Lyubov Lymar became their standard-bearer. In 1987 her only son died at the age of 19 when doing his military service, officially as a result of "attempted suicide". When she got his body back, she was shocked to find it showed traces of serious wounds and was headless.

After two years of wrangling with military tribunals, she managed to get a fresh post-mortem report. The culprits were never found, but her son was now described as having "died as a result of ill-treatment". She was given back the missing bits of his body in a cardboard box.

Nina Komkova's conscript son also "committed suicide" in 1992, according to the official version. But she tracked his body down at the morgue, only to find "his genitals cut off, his fingers bitten and a payonet wound in his back".

While the army admits that each year some 2,000 conscripts die "a violent death in peacetime", the mothers think the true figure is triple that. Many youngsters called up from remote parts of Russia are literally reduced to slavery by older conscripts. The process is known as dyadovshchina - the bullying of rookies by dyadi, those who have served for a year or more.

One typical soldier's letter reads: "Dear Mother . . . Shortly after I ioined the regiment on October 27 was beaten up in the canteen by Sergeant R. because he thought I'd given him 'a dirty look'. Next day, although I had got leave for family reasons. I was prevented from leaving by the commander of our battalion because my bruises were too visible. They shut me up for a week on a diet of bread and water. A week later, five of the dyadi hit me with their belt buckles because I'd washed the floor of their barrackroom without asking permission. I got hit repeatedly on the head, in the ribs and in the genitals. I passed out."

The practice of dyadovshchina, openly, is not new. Some Russian' sociologists trace its origins to the eighties, when the army began to allow into its ranks common-law criminals who introduced practices they had learnt in labour camps. Others see the phenomenon as an integral part of Russian society, which is excessively hierarchical.

The committee, which started out. as one of those loosely knit "selfdefence" organisations that sprang up when Mikhail Gorbachev intro- | ratists refuse to hand over prisoners | there along with many other parents.



Killed in action: relatives mourn the death of a Russian soldier in

duced perestroika, now has 10,000 members as well as offices in most Russian cities. It is run on a shoestring, despite getting some money from the Heinrich Böll Fund in Germany. It provides legal advice, puts out a Guide To Going Absent Without Leave, and fights thousands of cases in the courts.

A Moscow committee veteran. Flora Salikhovskaya, says: "Our movement took on a completely different dimension with the beginning of the war in Chechenia in December 1994. We now get 70-100 calls a day, because families can't always afford to come and see us."

In 1995 the St Petersburg committee got 7,000 appeals for help, according to its chairwoman, Ella Poliakova, mostly from parents of conscripts sent to Chechenia. One soldier wrote to the mothers: "We were told we were going to join the Tamanskaya Division in Moscow. We boarded a plane which landed in

by President Boris Yeltsin and his. defence minister, Pavel Grachev, and would be punished — as indeed that no more conscripts would be: I would be if I took him in." sent to the front has not been kept.

buses going to Chechenia are hired

PHOTOGRAPH, VLACIMIR VELENGLIBIO soldiers' families still have the possibility of staying in villages near where their sons are fighting. Ir February six families moved to

Novogrozny. Little did they know it

would shortly be reduced to rubble

y Russian planes. "It's outrageous," says one mother The Chechens help us, while our own army kicks us out. A separatist leader called me to tell me he was holding my son. He promised to hand him over if I went to fetch him. He kept his promise, then helped us cross the Russian lines. Better even, he gave us \$100 towards the return journey. His fellow soldiers weren't too pleased — they'd have preferred to use the money to buy tobacco,

which was in short supply.

P ARENTS say the army can be astoundingly collous in its dealings with them. Stanislav Vorontsov had had no news of his son Alexander since his unit was At the beginning of the Russian sent to Chechenia in the spring of offensive in Chechenia, conscripts 1995, so he called the army's freesent to Chechenia in the spring of were even sent into the front line, phone service. "At first they said he closely followed by "élite troops" | wasn't on any list, so I needn't worry. | places as close as 50km from the at their sexuality in terms of the little of whose job was to catch any deserters. The promise made a year ago

The li write to you, they kept on say rich capital. Moscow, starving ing. When I persisted they eventually conscripts often kill dogs as food, told me my son must have deserted

"We have organised the biggest unauthorised kidnapping of soldiers bodies of 216 "unidentified" soldiers; Moskovsky Komsomolets that the Mikhail Kubarsky was "abnormal". by their mothers - many of the | had been kept for the past year in the morgue of Rostov-on-Don, a city in few cases where Chechen sepa-' railway junction, Vorontsov travelled

'We were supposed to recognise the numbered corpses from a film they showed us again and again, but couldn't see my son."

Vorontsov then went to Mozdok the Russian army headquarters in northern Ossetia. There he was directed to the nearest military hospiial, where his son had been treated after "being wounded by the exploion of a phosphorus incendiary

"I immediately got the message phosphorus burns at 5,000°C, so there couldn't have been anything left of my Sasha." He found no trace of his son. When he asked the army for a death certificate, they categorically refused.

Galina Komissarova, from the southern Russian city of Krasnodar, was sent a zinc coffin six months after her son had been sent to Grozny. "But the body inside wasn't my son's," she says. "It was that of a smaller person. I buried the unknown man as was only right and proper, but I'm still waiting for my Such mistakes are common, as

only officers carry identity discs. When soldiers "disappear", families have to contend with more than just grief. Lena's son, Igor, was one of 446 soldiers from his unit in the southwestern city of Maikop who in December 1994 were ordered to enter Grozny and take the railway station. They were surrounded by separatist forces: 84 were killed, 138

vounded and 74 reported missing. A monument to the "heroes of the battle of Grozny" has been erected in Maikop, but Igor's name is not on it. That means Lena cannot claim the 600,000 roubles (\$120) of state compensation paid out to families of those killed in action. Worse, just as any Soviet soldier taken prisoner by the Wehrmacht in the second world war was regarded by Stalin as "a traitor to the fatherland", the "disappeared" are suspected of descrition

by the defence ministry. The "mothers" admit that 3,000-5,000 conscripts have deserted since the beginning of the conflict in Chechenia. The authorities have organised an increasing number of swoops in an attempt to catch desertera. Conscripts tend to desert, says one expert, more out of fear of *lyadoeshchina* than of the actual

Salikhovskaya says: "This dis-graceful war has highlighted what we've long known about living conditions in the army, both in Chechenia and in the average barracks."

An Izvestia reporter recently described how élite Russian troops who had surrounded the village of Pervomayskaya, in Dagestan, where spectacular hostage-taking operation took place, ran completely out of rations and had to slaughter cattle stampeding out of the burning

According to an article published in February by the weekly Novaya Gazeta, cases of mainutrition are becoming common in the army. In cause it will encourage them to look the paper claimed. This is confirmed by the mothers.

They say the army has just admit-When Vorontsov read in the daily ted that the death of 21-year-old He starved to death a few months after joining a regiment in the far eastern part of Russia. The 1.8m-tall by us," says Salikhovskaya, In the southern Russia with an important conscript weighed just over 42kg when he died, . . (May 2)

Pill and the pendulum

Pascale Krémer

REPEATED public awareness campaigns have resulted in the growing use of condoms by Freach tecnagers. Research last year showed that 75 per cent of those in the 15-18 age bracket used a coodom when they first had sex.

But this good news may be having an undesirable side effect Teenage girls who anyway have to rely on condoms to protect them selves against Aids tend not to see any point in taking the pill as well A new contraception campaign sporsored by the health ministry urges teenagers to use both the pill and

"Condoms aren't reliable enough as a contraceptive," says Dr Davi Serfaty, head of the birth-control department at the Hopital St-Louis in Paris. "Early on in their sex lives. teenagers often tear them or allow spillage. What's more, they don't use them regularly. That's why its important to put across the idea d pill-plus-condom protection, which s very widespread in the Nether lands — the Dutch have the lower rate of techage pregnancies and abortions in the world."

Dr Sauveur Bonkris, an expert on tecnagers' problems, sees another danger: "Once a relationship of mtual trust has been set up, young sters forget condonis. Once they're sure they've haven't got Aids they feel invulnerable. They no longer think of programey as a possibility because in recent years all the emphasis has been on Aids."

Another unfortunate side effect of condonis being used as the sole means of contraception is that teenage girls see gynaccologists less often. When they start being sexually active they no longer need to visit a gynaccologist to go on the pill - and thus fail to get screened for sexually transmitted diseases Dr Serfaty says 31 per cent of the girls under 20 he sees suffer from chlamydia (a bacterium responsib for genito-urinary complaints).

Dr Boukris says: "Visiting 1 gynaccologist also means you have someone to talk to about sex which is often difficult with fair members — as well as about you health in general and possible ps chological problems."

Marie-Belle Obadia, who works for a students' insurance company points out that no nationwide con paign in favour of the pill has bed organised since 1990. School don't have the resources to keep teenage girls properly informed. she says. "Even girls whose mothers belong to the generation that fought for the pill are amazing ignorant — their mothers assume they take the necessary precantors as a matter of course."

The new campaign to help teenage girls to control their fertiles will be particularly welcome le often the case whenever the risk of rather than death — the Aids is mentioned.

(May 28)

Le Monde

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boardrooms to cause unbound triggered bonus and incentive | named director rather than just the chairman and highest paid, as was payments which ended by giving the most highly paid directors an average rise of around 25 per cent.

timely political upsets has

been underlined with the disclosure

in the Guardian Index of Top

Executive Pay published last week,

proved, the new agenda has done little to dampen the pace of direc-

The 10 most highly remunerated

bosses all earned more than £1 mil-

lion (\$1.5 million), the equivalent of

£19,230 every week - almost ex-

actly what the average full-time

Large salary rises — only nine

FTSE-100 bosses took pay cuts last

by company performance where

earnings per share rose in the same

period by an average of 24 per cent.

But that increase in earnings was primed by the loss of 25,000 jobs

The Guardian Index appears to

show that the Greenbury Commit-

tee's advocacy of the klea that direc-

tors' earnings should be more closely linked to corporate perfor-

from FTSE-100 companies.

rise even more sharply.

are not yet included.

try been lower.

Index was launched in 1988 have av-

erage pay rises at the top of indus-

The heady period of the late

1980s threw up average increases of

27 per cent and 33 per cent, Only

with the sharp economic and profit

downturn of the early 1990s did top

pay begin to rein back, even dipping

into single figures (9 per cent) for

But the dislocation between the

percentage increase in top execu-tive pay and in average earnings has

been wider only once in the past.

eight years when, in 1992, board-

room increases ran at 6.7 times the

increase in earnings, compared with

5.3 times in the latest survey and a

Only once since 1988 has the rate

of executive pay rises run at such a large multiple of inflation. That was

two of the survey years.

low of 1.2 times in 1991.

male worker earns in a year.

gate the entire issue.

and perks.

Lisa Buckingham and Sarah Whitebloom explore the truth behind headlines of boardroom excess

that top executives gave themselves highly paid directors that large pay rises last year of nearly 19 per increases have been seen. The enhanced role of non-executive cent — roughly five times both infla-tion and the average increase in directors following the Cadbury and Greenbury studies — which placed Such large pay rises at the top of industry are bound to embarrass the Prime Minister, who attempted greater emphasia on independent directors — is also being reflected in pay scales. to neuter the debate on executive A notable, if untypical, example is

remuneration by establishing the Dick, Giordano, currently executive Greenbury Committee to investibut formerly non-executive chairman of British Gas and the man responsible for fuelling the top pay That top-level inquiry team headed by Sir Richard Greenbury, debate by agreeing to a 75 per cent pay rise for his then chief executive, chairman of Marks & Spencer. published guidelines last year on Cedric Brown. Mr Giordano earned the structure of boardroom salaries nearly £840,000 last year from his FTSE roles which, in addition to his But while the standard of disclostewardship at British Gas, include sure in annual reports has im-BOC, mining group RTZ and drinks

and foods giant Grand Metropolitan. But industry chiefs argue that non-executive directors on remuneration committees are doing more to earn their money and are

taking their duties more seriously. Sir Michael Angus, non-executive chairman of Whitbread, chairman of Boots and deputy chairman of British Airways, said: "Remuneration committees are for the first time year — have, at least, been matched having to write a report themselves and, as a result, there is a greater

feeling of accountability about." He maintained that the emphasis was on ensuring a rigorous and proper process of setting remuneration rather than on restricting the rising level of directors' salaries.

Sir Michael said, however, that he had found that, in general, nonexecutives were "understanding their responsibilities" more clearly. News that non-executives are tak-

mance is providing a short-term excuse for boardroom salaries to ing their duties more seriously will be welcomed by shareholders. But critics are bound to ask why this And, although the committee's formation was prompted by public step-change in non-executive furor over the pay and perks at the scrutiny has been so long coming. It top of newly privatised companies, is now five years since the Cadbury Government attempts to keep the report on boardroom ethics and lid on the debate are this year being there has been mounting public tested by traditional and longer-term pressure for a tighter rein on boardmembers of FTSE-100 companies. room salaries by independent direc-So far, very few of the privatised tors for more than a decade.

utilities and former government Sir Richard Greenbury, whose owned corporations have published last reported salary would have put annual reports for 1995/96, so him in the UK's 20 best remunersalary increases for their directors ated executives, may not have achieved moderation in boardroom In absolute terms, the 19 per cent average increase for the most pay rises, but he has given impetus to the improved quality of disclohighly-paid executives appears relasure which was enhanced in the ively modest. In only three of the wake of the Cadbury report. : eight years since the Guardian

It is now standard for companies

Top executive pay

the case a few years back. The disclosure of share option

values and windfalls is also im-It is not only among the most proved, allowing shareholders to discover that on top of an apparently modest salary of £292,000, the Argos chief executive, Mike Smith, reaped profits of £614,900 on his options, while Richard Lapthorne, the finance director at British Aerospace, netted £1.1 million on the sale of part of his option holdings.

As yet, companies have been able to dodge disclosing the sometimes enormous costs that substantial pay rises for older executives can mean in terms of pension benefits. The Stock Exchange and Department of Trade and Industry are still deliberating which method should be used to calculate the cost of top executives' pension payments.

It is clear from this year's Guardian Index that almost all companies have decided to follow the Greenbury recommendation that ong-term incentive plans (LTIPs) should be installed to link the rewards of directors more closely with the fortunes of their shareholders.

are being put to annual meetings for shareholder approval, but it is clear that a number of companies have decided to brave the disapproval of investors by establishing LTIPs in addition to, rather than instead of, share option

Although a number of LTIPs apear flaccid in terms of the perfornance criteria needed to trigger executive benefits, there appears to have been some toughening in recent months. Nevertheless, the rewards many of these schemes will yield are phenomenal

Supporters contend, however, that the LTIPs do at least introduce the notion of performance elements (share option plans were frequently not related to corporate improve ment). Under the best of them. these criteria can be toughened. And, whatever the windfall gains in the boardroom, shareholders will turn a blind eye because their income will have been improved. But critics complain that improved disclosure simply allows companies to try to justify the unjustifiable. By producing lengthy and detailed reports from remuneration committee chairmen, a spurious credibility is given to the need for large or unusual payments.

It can certainly be argued that Greenbury's recommendation that to detail the pay packages of each | a larger proportion of earnings be

septimental, PRI and acelegic employed

linked to corporate performance means Britain is heading into several years of substantial ratcheting

up of boardroom pay.

The amount of remuneration linked to shareholder returns and company performance will increase and come closer to the US model where, typically, 50 to 75 per cent of executive remuneration is at risk if corporate performance falls short of

But UK executives have shown themselves remarkably resistant to the notion of cutting their basic pay. This means shareholders are likely to face the unpalatable spectacle that while basic pay will become a smaller proportion of overall earnings, that same basic pay will not be cut and indeed can e expected to increase by a factor of inflation. The risk element will simply begin to appear as the jam on the top. There will be riches aplenty for top-notch performance but nothing to be lost if perfor-

mance goes backwards. Remuneration consultant MM&K suggests that, in addition, "Greenbury could become directly responsible for increasing boardroom pay by alerting every director in the UK to the packages of his counterparts

in competitor companies". This adherence to safety first for members of the boardroom is also apparent in the refusal of all but a smattering of FTSE-100 companies such as Hanson, to abide by the spirit of the Greenbury Committee recommendation that standard service contracts for senior executives should be for one year only.

Most companies have concluded that their executives are far too special to risk pocketing only 12 months' salary if they are sacked for underperforming. Instead, the writers of annual reports are currently choosing to shield executives still enjoying two or three-year contracts pehind Greenbury's list of poten tially allowable exceptions.

Shareholders may not yet have come to grips with boardroom pay, but pressure from investors has had a substantial impact on companies' willingness to shell out for political purposes. Directors have been gradually cutting corporate contribu-tions to the Conservative party. Research by the Guardian has revealed that only a few loyal top companies are now giving to Tory coffers, and contributions are a fraction of what they were before the last election. It is estimated that the 12 remain-

ing contributors from the FTSE-100 gave the Conservatives around £520,000 last year, less than half the amount given in the run up to the last election, when three times as many firms donated.

Next year. Tory finances could suffer further. Drugs giant Glaxo, which donated £8,000 last year, has ing. Legal & General, which has tra-ditionally donated around £30,000, has not sought investor backing for further contribut

But the top 100 are still giving to good causes. The Guardian Index reveals that the UK's biggest companies! donated more than £1.1 billion last year to charities. This represented an average donation of £100,000 per firm but some companies gave far more. Glaxo Well-come, the pharmaceuticals giant, made donations last year totalling

in Brief Top UK executives boost pay by 19pc

HE National Lottery operator Camelot made profits last year of \$2.3 million a week. Pre-tax profits for 1995-96 came in at \$120 million, which compares with \$17 million in Camelot's first year of operation.

G EOFFREY BROADHURST, a former director of the Barings financial empire, has been expelled from the City for his role in the bank's near-\$1.5 billion collapse last year.

ACIA, the stricken UK retail empire with debts of \$47 million, has been dismembered. with three of its footwear businesses put into administration. The jobs of 8,500 staff at more than 1,000 high street shops remained under threat as receivers moved in to take over half of the collapsed group.

OTOR components and aerospace group Lucas Industries has agreed terms for a \$4.8 billion merger with the American company Varity, creating the eighth largest automotive supplier in the world.

T HE PROSPECT of a summer of industrial unrest in Germany moved closer when it emerged that the finance ministers of the country's 16 federal states are planning large spending cuts to make up for reduced tax revenues.

NSIDER dealers in the UK will soon be under aurveillance from a \$9 million Big Brothertype computer system. The machine will use its own initiative to detect suspect trades.

UROTUNNEL has launched its most ruthless campaign in the cross-Channel price war, siashing fares on Le Shuttle service by up to 60 per cent.

ALGETY, the food company with a large animal feedstuffs operation, warned that the scare over "mad cow" disease and an unrelated instance of contamination at a Dutch pet food factory will cut up to \$39 nillion off profits this year.

FOREIGN EXCHANGES

	June 3	May 20
Australia.	1 1.9321-1,9341	1.9024-1,9044
Austria .	16.63-16.65	
	1 1 1	16.52-16.33
Belgium	48.60-48.63	47.66-47,73
Canada	2.1206-2,1212	2.0763-2.0780
Denmark	9.12-9.13	8.95-8.98
Frence	8.00-8.01	7.84-7.86
Germeny .	2.3641-2.3859	23197-2,3217
Hong Keng .	11,98-11.98	11.69-11.70
ireland .	0.9757-0.9774	0.9682-0.9699
liny	2,390-2,392	2.345-2.347
Japan :	187.68-157.85	161.88-182.06
Netherlands	2.6476-2.6494	2.6918-2.5939
New Zealand	2.2739-2.2771	2.2138-2.2171
Norway	10.10-10.11	9.95-9.98
Portugei	243.66-244;06	238 29 238 55
Spain	198.92-199.08	- 193,33-193,49
Sweden	10.39-10.40	10.19-10.21
Switzerland	1,9345-1,9364	1.9083-1.9107
USA ,	1.5490-1.5496	1,6118-1,5125
ECU	1.2490-1,2498	1.2313-1.2329
FT88100 Phone	Index down \$6.0 at	2728.9. PTSN 250

World Vision UK is a Christian relief and development agency, operating as part of an international partnership in over 90 countries. We have a number of challenging Agricultural vacancies in Mozambique that require the ability to successfully implement performance based sustainable development programmes. Applicants must have a minimum of two years' experience in Sub-Saharan Africa, and agree with and support the Christian basis of faith.

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ectivities. Must have a BSo in Agricultural Sciences, a higher qualification in research and at least 6 years experience in agricultural research, a part of which must have been in sub-

Agricultural Recovery Programme Manager - Tele Province To co-ordinate all aspects of the Agricultural Recovery Programme n Tete Province with emphasis on crop improvement, field trials nvestigation, extension and training, the promotion of crops and varieties with the potential to improve nutritional status, animal restocking and rural credit. Must have a minimum BSc in agricultural sciences and a higher qualification in agricultural development or research, together with a minimum of 10 years agricultural experience of which pert should be in sub-Saharan

The location of these positions will be Mutarare, Tete Province, Quellmane, Zambezla Province and Tete City. Tete Province respectively. All positions require computer literacy and excellent oral and written communication skills in English. Portuguese would be a distinct advantage.



For an application pack contact Jonathan Clarke, World Vision UK, 599 Avebury Boulevard, Milton Keynes, Bucke MK9 3PG. Tel: (01908) 841000 or Fax: (01908) 841041



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Israelis respond to Bibi's siren call role of Israel's ambassador to the United Nations. Lionised by New York society, he honed and buffed

Derek Brown profiles Israel's enigmatic

new prime minister

THE NEXT prime minister of Israel, as a profound admirer of Winston Churchill, is doubtless familiar with the great man's celebrated description of Soviet policy in 1939: "It is a riddle wrapped in a mystery inside an enigma."

There could be no fitter description of Binyamin "Bibi" Netanyahu, both the best-known and leastknown political leader in Israel. Everyone knows Bibi: he's the one with the face that launched a thousand quips. The soundbite king; the great performer; the man who illustrated his country's peril during Desert Storm by wearing a gas mask on CNN, and who shocked Israel into fits of giggles by confessing, live on primetime TV, that he had had an extramarital affair.

When Israelis talk about Bibi, two words invariably pop up: "shallow" and "superficial". Such is the flattening effect of television on image. In reality, he is a much more complex than the usual Israeli leaders: the grizzled veterans, marinated for generations in their own clichéd

Bibl is a closed book, which just happens to have a shiny bonkbuster cover hinting at the story within enshrined as Bibigate, featuring sex, lies, and maybe a raunchy videotage. Of which more later.

The dizzying rise of Netanyahu is not so much mysterious as chilling. Astute, articulate, and, when need be, utterly ruthless, he carved his way past the sagging old guard of the Likud movement, and the "party princes" — the rising generations with more experience. Bibl is, by common consent, a driven man. He is consumed by personal ambition, but he has other, higher goals: one is the survival of the Zionist state; another is the elimination of "terrorism".

renowned scholar and arch-nationalist. Part of Netanyahu senior's life's work, The Origins Of The Inquisition In Fifteenth Century Spain, was published last year. The other part is his austere dedication to revisionist Zionism, the cause of his idol and mentor, Ze'ev Jabotinsky. This is a hard, uncompromising view of Zionism; that the Arabs were the implacable foes of the

> dan, whatever the cost. The other great formative influ ence in Bibi's life is the United States. He went to live there aged 14, when his father, embittered by modern Israel, took up an academic job in Philadelphia, Bibi was apparently devastated by the move, but adapted so readily that when he returned to Israel for army service, he had difficulty fitting in with the egalitarian informality of his native land.

Jews, and that Israel should be es-

tablished on both sides of the Jor-

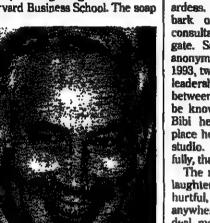
He had a distinguished military career, rising to captain and serving in the dangerous, daredevil border reconnaissance unit. He was wounded in the face while helping to rescue hijacked passengers from a Sabena aircraft in 1972. Later that year, he returned to

the US to study at the Massachussets Institute of Technology. He graduated in architecture, took master's degree in business adminstration, and honed his political skills by defending Israel in public meetings. Whatever doubts he may have had — he simplified his name by deed poll to Benjamin Nitay were swept aside by possibly the defining event in his life: the death

of his brother, Yonatan. Yoni Netanyahu was the only Israeli soldier killed in the sensational commando raid on Entebbe, which rescued 106 hilacked hostages from under Idi Amin's nose. Bibi was devastated, and hurled himself into the national movement which elevated

he is the son of Benzion Netanyahu, I rorism and how to combat it. The work crystallised his passionate conviction that terror is ultimately a weapon of states and can be successfully countered.

By this time, the singular pattern f Bibi's personal life had been set. In 1978, while working in a business consultancy in Boston, he married Micky, a postgraduate student.
They had a daughter, Noa, but the
marriage foundered when Micky learned of Bibl's affair with Fleur Cates, an English graduate of the Harvard Business School. The soap



Netanyahu: an astute, articulate, and utterly ruthless politician

opera switched to Israel, where Bibi was briefly employed as a furniture company manager. He married Fleur in 1981 but Bibi's political career started to soar, and again the marriage imploded. They divorced

Bibl's first public job came at the request of Moshe Arens, a leading Likudnik and newly-appointed ambassador to the US, to join him in Washington as number two dresm job for the young, articulate, American-accented Netanyahu. He dazzled diplomatic correspondents Yoni to icon status. In 1980 Bibi set up and directed the Yonatan Insti-

his US-Israeli composite image. It did him no harm in his first, successful tilt at the Knesset (parliament) in 1988, and a great deal of good when he became deputy foreign minister — to Arens again .

The Gulf war brought truly international fame. Bibl's mastery of the soundbite may have cemented his two-dimensional image, but it gave him a persona and a priceless weapon in the campaign for the next target: leadership of the Likud.

In 1991, Bibi was married for the third time, to Sara, an El Al stewardess. He also found time to embark on an affair with a PR consultant; the affair that led to Bibigate. Sara was tipped off in an anonymous phone call in January 1993, two months before the crucia leadership election. What occurred between the Netanyahus may never be known. What is known is that Bibi headed immediately for the place he knows best: the television studio. He confessed, almost tear fully, that he had been unfaithful.

The nation was convulsed - by laughter. Marital infidelity is just as hurtful, just as seamy, in Israel as anywhere else. But it is also a good deal more common. That a politician should think it worthy of primetime was bizarre to most Israelis.

But Bibi had more spice to offer. political rival, he claimed, was hreatening to release a videotape sh**owing him "in compr**omising ro mantic situations" unless he dropped out of the leadership race.

The target of this remarkable charge, though unnamed, was the man who loathes Netanyahu more than any other: former foreign minister and thwarted would-be Likud leader David Levy.

Levy threw a fit and extracted an apology from Bibi. The police were called in and found no evidence of a video or a plot. But the damage was done: in March 1993, Netanyahu swept to victory in the party convention.

As opposition leader, Bibi has had to endure a government which tute, dedicated to the study of ter- I he found himself in the high-profile I was scenningly unstoppable; a gov- I over. And it did.

ernment which made all the rening. Last year, opposition to the cration Organisation became more ugly. Posters appeared of prine minister Rubin in SS uniform So gans against "traitors" were should at Likud and other rightwing ralles. On November 4, Bibi's worst nick mare was acted out in a Tel Am square. Yitzhak Rabin was gune down by a young Jewish zealot a cords, Yigal Andr.

In an instant the nation w plunged into cathartic grief and a orgy of remorse. Young people poured on to the streets to light cariles for the man whom Bibi had reviled. Endless queues wound past Rabin's grave. The politics of habel was excoriated. Leah, the widow of the murdered leader, accused Bill

IN VAIN he blustered and indig nantly denied the charge. The opinion polls slipped from crisis to calamity. The new prime minister, Shimon Peres, had a 20-point lead. The story of how that unprece dented advantage was squandered is not Bibl's story. He was not ousulted when Peres ordered the issassination of Hamas maser bombmaker Yahya Ayyash, spade ing the inevitable vengeance. No could Bibi do more than look of when the bombers struck back, tak ing 63 lives in less than two weeks.

Even when the election was called, the Likud leader's hands were, to an extent, tied. He did 👊 dare unleash the fire and brimstone feryour of the old campaign agains Rabin. He could not criticise 100 loudly the government's disastros adventure in attacking Lebanon.

What he could do, and nobody rould have done it better, was to drive home, with deadly drumming persistence, the single point that the peace has not brought security. A the climum of the election campaig last week's television debate, he di not have to be glib or clever or in ventive. He just had to say the word "fear". He said it 14 times, because that's the way the message gets

TUARDIAN WEEKLY



Cristina Sánchez, Europe's first female matador PHOTO-PATRICH GARDIN

Taking the bull by the horns

"WOMEN CARESS better and as you know, bullfighting is all about caresses." With these words of encouragement from her padrino or veteran aponsor buildighter.

Cristina Sánchez took to the ring in Nimes, southern France, last month to kill a mature bull for the first time and thus become the latest in a tiny line of female illfighters which dates back to the 18th century, writes Adela Gooch in Madrid.

For the 25-year-old builtighter from Parla, a small town 40km south of Madrid, the traditional alternativa ceremony was the ulmination of a decade-long struggle to carve a niche in the most emblematic of male-dominated worlds.

Sánchez confirme Spanish lore that only abject poverty or family example can drive a person to take up builfighting. Her father, Antonio, is a fireman and matador manqué who now acts as one of her cuadrilla of assis tant builfighters. Yet even he tried to dissuade her when, at the age of 16, after fighting a amali cow in a field and feeling me, something I liked", she anounced her intention to stop raining as a bairdresser and take to the rings.

"He said if it was hard for a nan, it was even harder for a windn. My mother was damently against it. But when I decided I would do it with or without their backing, my fa ook my alde and perausided her. Now ahe even comes to see me fight, which takes enormous courage." It would have been easy for Sánchez, the second of ^{tour} sisters, to trade on her femininity and become a gimmicky torero. Instead, she chose to do it the hard way, training in the professional builfighters' academy in Madrid: the only female among more than 100 men, she graduated third. She has been oadly gored three times and injured on numerous occasions.

Sánchez herself acknowledge that the female frame makes it harder to lean between the bull's horns and plunge in a sword. "I simply have to train more," she counters, "Men are stronger and have to redress that balance."
The combination of elements

needed is complex, but rests above all in achieving symbiosis between fighter and buil. While male matadors often see the process in erotic terms, Sánchez prefers to use different imagery: It is a dance. You have to be very light on your feet, very fast-moving to transmit a sense of the esthetic. You have to be in

tarmony with the buil." Sánchez has been subject to frequent verbal abuse from affcionados and open hostility from collegues: "Bulls are associated with courage, with virility, and woman for holding her own in that environment. I sometimes feel very lonely but I belong in this world," Sanchez insists.

To date, no woman has formally become a matador on Spanish soil. Sanchez's "alterna tiva" ceremony in Nimes was the first held in Europe. Sánchez admits to making many sacrifices: but she does not accept that being taken seriously in the ring ins renouncing femininity.

"And anyway builfighter's life is short. There can be time for children afterwarda."

The Northern Territory is set to make history as the first jurisdiction to allow doctors to help terminally ill people to die. Margaret Simons reports from Darwin

Australia's deliverance day

to forget the date July 1, 1996. From that day, a doctor called Philip Nitschke will have application of computer technology his death machine

Nitschke has linked a computer to a syringe that will be filled with deadly drugs. His patients will work their way through a series of screens before they push a key that will end it all.

On the second screen is the blun warning: "This device has been set to deliver a lethal injection. To proceed to the next step you must press YES." The last screen rends: "If you press YES, you will cause a lethal injection to be given in 30 seconds, and will die. YES or NO."

In an earlier prototype of the Deliverance program, the patient could choose from a range of CD music options, and the final message on the screen was "Goodbye and Good Luck". Now the final exit will be silent. When the machine becomes available for use in July, the Northern Territory of Australia, where Nitschke practises, will become the first jurisdiction in the world where a doctor can legally assist the termitally ill to commit suicide.

People can be very determined to die - or at least to choose the manner of their departure. It is a determination we normally associate with the will to live. But in Darwin, the remote capital of the Northern Territory, it is the will to end life hat is dividing the community. A year ago, the state's parliament

bassed the first legislation in the world making euthanasia legal. Almost immediately, tragic journeys began. At least half a dozen people from across Australia sold property, said farewell to relatives, and travelled to Darwin, only to end up in a notel room, unable to die.

The law demanded that palliative care be upgraded, a hospice estabished and an education programme conducted before the law came into effect. Nobody was prepared to say now long all this would take,

One wife smuggled her 85-year-old husband out of hospital and on to a plane, terrified the airline would realise he was not fit to fly. They pooked into a Darwin motel and contacted a doctor, but were told they couldn't yet be helped. The man died, weeks later. By his own hand? "Who knows," says Nitschke. This is a small community. It's like goldfish bowl up here at the moment. We are watched."

After July 1, patients who satisfy he rigorous requirements of the aw will be able to receive the medical help they crave. Meanwhile, there is raw emotion in Darwin, which opponents of the law say will destination for one-way tourism. The arguments from doctors.

right-to-lifers and the churches vary from respect for the sanctity of human life to fears that this will be the thin end of the wedge - that voluntary euthanasia will open the door for the venal to have their relatives put down.

The scaremongering auggests you are a murderer, that you want to bump off people who are in the way, that you are harking back to Hitlers' Germany, says Lynda Cracknell, president of the Darwin Pro-cuthanasia Society.

this thy parliament of 25 members and no upper house, covering a jurisdiction of just 173,000 people spread over an area nearly six times the size of Britain, done what no other parliament in the world would dare to do?

To many Australians, the "Top End", as the Northern Territory is known, is seen as frontier country - hard-drinking, maverick, macho.

It is the last place in Australia where such radical reform would have been expected. Since selfgovernment in 1978, every election has been won by the conservative Country-Liberal Party, dominated for the past decade by the charismatic and enigmatic chief minister, Marshall Perron.

affairs: Perron versus Labor, Suddonly and quite deliberately, after 21 years during which he never voiced any concern for the rights of the terminally iii, Perron made legalised suicide his political swan song and memorial. He drafted The Rights of the Terminally III Act and introduced it as a private member's bill. Then, on the eve of the crucial conscience vote, he announced his intention to retire.

"He basically asked us to give i to him as a parting gift," remarked one MP. "Well, there aren't too many ways for a Territory politician to write himself into the interna tional history books."

Now officially retired and tinkering with his beloved hot-rod cars, Perron is still the driving force be-



Jan Culhane: desperately hopes to be the first to test the new law

it? "That is the question I am always" asked, and the answer is a bland one which doesn't satisfy people, he says. The truth is I have always felt that a person who is suffering and near death ought to have the right and ability to end their lives if

He also believes in the power of South Australia, which in the 1890s. when it was still a tiny colony, became the first place in the world to give women the vote and the right

to run for parliament.

He believes that in 100 years euthanasis will be seen as logical and necessary, just like women's suf-frage. And the Northern Territory will have been in the vanguard.

Before Perron introduced his bill. Philip Nitschke was pricked into action on euthanasia when the Australian Medical Association claimed there wasn't a single doctor in the Territory who would co-operate I near Sydney

Why is this happening here, of all the places in the world? Why has suaded a group of doctors to sign are suaded a group of doctors to sign an advertisement contradicting the association's line. Then, suddenly, "I was drowning in it".

Jan Culhane, a nurse, aged 51, is likely to be the first person to begin the process towards legal euthanasia. She is already living in Darwin, having moved from New South Wales shortly after the legislation was passed. In the only interview she has given, she expressed a fervent desire not to live to her 52nd birthday next August.

Hers has been a sad and difficult life. lived with fierce independence and determination. Her fear of los ing that independence is what is dri-

ving her to seek early death. She divorced an alcoholic has band and raised three children by herself, including one with Downs syndrome. A fourth child drowned at the age of six.

For the past five years, she has suffered from breast cancer and had both breasts removed. Now the disease has apread to her lymph nodes. Chemotherapy left her vomiting and unable to live independently, so she stopped taking the treatment, and keeps her pain killers to a minimum so she doesn't have to rely too much on others for help.

Her reason for wishing to die, she said, was "that I will not live in fear .. I think the fear that I suffer is just as severe as the obysical pain. I'm by no means in more pain than I've ever seen people survive under, but it's pain that I'm not willing to accept.

"I raised my three children to be as independent as possible. That was my aim as a mother . . . I felt that I had got to the stage where i had instigated all the help that my Downs syndrome son needed to survive in the world. It was my time When I came to Darwin it was a relief. I didn't continually have to be on the ball, and worry about them, and I know that's selfish . . . " Then

she broke down. Nitschke says he fears for Culhane. Despite everything, her jour ney to Darwin may still end in disappointment. The requirements of the legislation are strict. She will first have to request help to commit suicide from a Northern Territory doctor, who must be satisfied she is suffering from a terminal illness in volving unacceptable suffering. The diagnosis must be confirmed by a second doctor, and a psychiatrist must find that she is not suffering

from a treatable depression. After waiting at least seven days from the initial request, Culhane will have to sign a form titled "Request for Assistance to end my life in a Humane and Dignified Manner". She will then have to wait at small jurisdictions to do radical least another 48 hours before her initial doctor.

As the day of reckoning ap proaches, Darwin grows daily more divided between those who are proud to grant what they see as a sic human right and those who shudder at the implications, Human suffering has no calculus. Pain cannot be measured. All that can be safely said is that some people are determined to put an end to it. For them, Darwin has become the focus of their dreams.

Margaret Simons is a novelist living

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Battle of the bottle breaks out

US health crusaders have turned to temperance. Jonathan Freedland

on the new booze-busters

HE MEN are chewing thick stogies, the women are in chiffon and the band is playing swing. It's a retro scene. The orchestra leader, his hair brilliantined like the crooners of old, is tromboning The Man That Got Away for an audience too young to remember Liza Minnelli, let alone her mother Judy Garland who made it a hit.

The party's been thrown by the No Left Turn group of young Re-publican women who have hired a Washington club for a fund-raiser. They look like their politics: defiantly old-fashioned. The men wear sober suits, the women have highpitched voices and the former ask the latter to dance. And they are drinking. April has a martini, Kent a scotch. "We smoke, we drink, we do everything bad!" burbles Kimberly. a Capitol Hill staffer.

The ladies of No Left Turn have realised something the rest of America is just beginning to under-stand: alcohol is joining tobacco as a scorned, passé commodity - a habit the nation is increasingly giv-ing up. Consumption of alcohol in the United States is the lowest it has been since 1964; spirit sales are at a 50-year low and experts predict the decline will get steeper. A campaign is gathering pace, targeting the brewers and distillers with the same ammunition once aimed solely at cigarette makers. New anti-drink laws are debated in Congress and The episode was utterly in step tighter ones have already become

law in the 50 states. Popular culture has joined the assault, with Hollywood ditching old | drunkenness; the wobbly walk and images of the lovable drunk and replacing them with harrowing por-trayals of alcohol abuse. The respected Scientific American journal has declared that "a third era of temperance" is now under way in the US, on a par with the religiously inspired crackdown of the 1850s and the greatest anti-alcohol backlash of all - the Prohibition of the

34.9 per cent slump in consumption since 1977. Beer is still the US's fourth favourite beverage (after soft drinks, coffee and milk) but less is sold now than 20 years ago — despite billions of dollars spent on advertising and a proliferation of new products, from "ice" beers to the niche, microbrewed, brands. Tellingly, "Lite" beers outself the real thing. Wine has held on - just. It's ninth in the US beverage charts - outsold by bottled water, tea, fruit juice and powdered squashes. even know how to make a cup of tea

"America is a very dry country,"

pams George Hacker, the chief anti-alcohol campaigner at the Centre for Science in the Public Interview who get them drunk. If a sozzled tre for Science in the Public Interest. Hacker notes with satisfaction that 40 per cent of Americans now abstain from alcohol completely and even among those who drink, 90 per cent do so at or below the federally recommended level: two units a day for a man, a unit for a woman (a glass of wine counts as a unit).

developed a strikingly low tolerance for alcohol. Consider the case of the one to the point of intoxication and Seattle woman who, 9% months | beyond, if you put someone on the | drinking and not seeking to elimipregnant, ordered a drink back in | road that does injury, I will take | nate it.



1991. She had resisted alcohol throughout her pregnancy but she'd also read the experts who said that one drink so late in term carried almost no risk. At a leading Seattle restaurant she asked for a glass of wine with her meal. The waiters refused, citing the health of her foetus. There was a row and the waiters lost their jobs. But public opinion sided with the men: one embryologist even proposed a ban on serving alcohol to pregnant women

with US culture's growing distaste for booze. Hollywood once enjoyed watching Dean Martin revel slurred speech served him so well he launched his own liquor label — Dino's. Now film drunks are objects of pity, bent on self-destruction. Nicolas Cage bagged an Oscar for his performance in Leaving Las Vegas, a virtual public information film about alcohol abuse; Meg Ryan got there a year earlier, victim of the hard stuff in When A Man Loves A

drink are getting tighter. At bars and clubs you have to have ID - driving licences, birth certificates - to prove your age. The legal drinking age of 21 is strictly en-forced. Never mind that it's legal to serve alcohol at 18, you have to wait three more years for a drink. It's been that way since the mideighties, when the federal govern-ment threatened to withhold roadbuilding funds from any state that did not raise its minimum drinking age. Reinforcing the "sowhere police can conduct random but they drink more of it than wine. | breath-tests, are the so-called Dramshop laws, now in force in 30 American crashes his car, whoever poured that last "one for the road" could end up in the dock with him. In some states that includes not just

bartenders but even hosts throwing a private party.

A new breed of anti-booze lawyer has evolved to take advantage of the With little fanfare. America has crackdown. "I sue bars," says Alfred Sennedella III. "If you serve some-

your insurance protection, your liquor licence, your establishment, your savings, your home. I will take you to the cleaners." Nice guy, Mr ennedella — and doing very well. US brewers could find their trade

further restricted if a new bill becomes law. Tabled by Congressman Joe Kennedy — whose uncle Ted is winning plaudits for his effort to haul his considerable bulk on the wagon — the Comprehensive Alcohol Abuse Prevention Bill would mpose a battery of new curbs on liquor marketing. Since 1989 all US beer bottles have included a health warning targeted at pregnant women; the aim now is to have similar notices attached to ads in print

Companies would find their advertising budgets no longer taxleductible; Congress would demand n annual report on the promotion

on radio and on TV.

Campaigners portray consumers as being victims of a vicious corporate plan to hook them on a toxic drug

of booze, compiled by the health secretary; new rules would restrict even the mildest marketing drive aimed at young people.

Anti-drink activists are no longer pursuing easy targets such as drinkdriving but the very business of booze. When they started in the late 1970s, groups such as Remove Intoxicated Drivers (RID) and Mothers Against Drunk Driving (MADD) defined their enemy narrowly. The strategy worked, with and allowing courts to remove motorists' licences without a hearing if their blood alcohol level exceeds 0.1 per cent. Now Students Against Drunk Driving (SADD) proposes a contract between teenagers and parents, whereby kids call for a lift if they've been drinking and their parents promise to pick them up. But MADD and RID have condemned the scheme for condoning youthful

busters, heirs to he bygone Antiialoon League Women's Christian Teninerance Union

charge are the

latter-day booze-

These lawyers, preachers, scientists and politicians have taken the message of the 1850s and 1920s and updated it for the 1990s. They attack drink not as a moral scourge but a health hazard. Former senator and 1972 Democ-

ratic presidential candidate George McGovern has become a spiritual leader to the movement, following the death of his daughter, Terry. Aged 45, she dropped down drunk in a snowstorm and froze to death in 1994. McGovern, demanding "an all-out war against alcoholism", notes that, with 100,000 alcoholrelated deaths in the US annually liquor is claiming double the number of American lives lost in the entire Vietnam war — every year.

George Hacker describes alcohol as the US's third biggest killer and leading slayer of 15- to 24-year-olds. What's more (always an effective argument in the US) alcohol consumption costs, draining the US economy of \$100 billion a year in lost working days and hospital bills. The anti-drinkers are deploying

the same tactics against brewers and distillers that the anti-smoking campalgners heap on tobacco.
Shrewdly, they don't blame the
drinker or smoker for pursuing an
unpleasant habit but portray conumers as victims of a vicious corpo-

Activists estimate the industry spends more than \$2 billion a year on drink-driving — lowering the ing those most vulnerable, starting self-regulation courses which train bartenders not to push customers.

Tobacco has Joe Camel, alcohol over the limit. has the Budweiser frogs: three, But the US is on a different computer-enhanced toads who course. There is not yet a 1996 ver croak a syllable each - Bud, Weis, sion of Carry Nation, the turn of Er. Hacker says that just as Joe Camel is designed to lure kids on to who — Bible in one hand, age in the fags, so the frogs represent "a other — vandalised saloons. The campaign that unacrupulously appeals to children"

peals to children".

Earlier this year shareholders of that it did wonders for public health Endweiser's parent company, Anheuser-Busch, expressed anxiety over a survey that showed more that it did wonders for public negative and led to an all-time low in circle sis of the liver) but a clear appetiff for abstinence has returned.

familiar with the frogs' slogar than with Tony the Tiger's pitch for Frosties ("They're Gr-r-r-eat!").

"It doesn't mean we're going after young people, it just means they know who the frogs are," says Jeff Eller, spokesman for the Beer Institute trade association. "What advertising doesn't do is encourage more kids to drink or encourage kids who do drink to drink "Haloney," says Hacker, "It's like

any other product; they target the heavy users." This is the most sensitive charge of all, for it touches on the explosive matter of race. Activists lament the black neighbour hoods that have no cinemas of decent shops but always seem to have a neon-lit liquor store. They note the "good life" billboards showing beautiful, young African-Americans chugging on ice-cold beer. "You look at who's being incarcerated, who's dropping out of school, and you look at all the social and health problems associate with alcohol — it's in the black community," says Rev Alfa Estes Brown, a temperance campaigner in Washington, DC, leading attempts at direct action by whitewashing over the booze billboards in black

The industry is fighting back proposing a new notice on bottles of red wine which would promote its health benefits as a safeguard bartenders not to push customers.

The infliction of pain on humans has reached new torturer's century. depths of cruelty - and Despite earnest attempts to ban torture by the United Nations, there

The torturer's century

become big business, writes Leonard Doyle

HROUGHOUT recorded history, and no doubt before, torturers have been tearing at the flesh and battering men, women and children not intending to kill, but to extract confessions

Amnesty International's new report on torture, A Glimpse Of Hell, is a horror story from beginning to end. The forms of torture in use today are cruel beyond belief, but there is also the frisson which people experience when contem-plating human cruelty, degradation and suffering and the frequently tacit acceptance that torture is

necessary evil.

Also dismaying is the extent to which torture practised by governments around the world increased dramatically this century, especially in Europe. After tapering off with the Enlightenment in Europe in the 17th century to the extent that it had almost disappeared, it returned with a vengeance with the rise of the Nazis and Russian communism. | are still in widespread use around This may become known as the | the world today. The English tech-

are always loopholes allowing "lawful sanctions" and it stills shows up with niggling frequency in Europe. Last month General Enrique Rodriguez Galindo, a senior officer in Spain's paramilitary civil guard, was jailed, accused of being involved in the torture and murder of two suspected members of the ETA Basque terror organisation

Ill-treatment of terrorist suspects Northern Ireland has been well documented. And even in Denmark the use of the "leg-lock", in which handcuffs are applied behind the back, then one foot wedged behind the other knee and the second foot under the handcuff, was only banned in 1994 after it was exposed

But it is in Asia and the Islamic world that the torturers really come into their own. The technology is both modern and medieval, from leg shackles to trauma-inducing drugs, but the effect is the same.

And some of the methods devised in Europe in the Middle Ages to make punishment or execution as painful and prolonged as possible

nique of peigne forte et dure, it which the suspect was forced to lion the floor and increasingly heavy weights were put on the chest, often to the point of death, was finally abolished in 1772. This form of torture is common across the Middle East, Amnesty says.

The rack — last used in the Tower of London in 1640 — is a tourist attraction, but Western exports of prison, restraining and torture equipment is a highly profitable business. The biggest markets are in the Far and Middle East, but buyers are to be found in liberal free-market democracies and despotic dictatorships alike.

The trade is even codified and the United States has special customs categories for torture equipment including such items as thumbouffs thumbscrews, stun guns and electric shock batons.

Electro-shock weapons are among the most sought after items of modern torture technology. Amnesty says that use of this method is so endemic it has become impossible to document the number of victims.

A Glimpse of Hell, Amnesty International UK, £12.95

Letter from Senegal Mike Noves

Under examination

over the exam paper and started to read through the quespresident looked down on me, just to make sure I wouldn't think of cheating. Looking up from my paper, I avoided his stern gaze and glanced around me. The room was empty. Distance learning can be a rewarding experience, but sitting in an unfamiliar classroom for three hours with only a bored invigilator and 29 empty desks for company reminds you that it can also be a very lonely one.

I am studying environmental management by distance learning through Wye College. I am here for the annual ritual of frenzied scribbling in the end-of-year exams. Nine months of persistently trying to keep to the timetable suggested, and never quite managing to do so, reached their climax in this hot, unventilated classroom in the ministry of education in Dakar.

Things got off to a bad start on the morning of my first exam. I live about 1,000 miles from the exam centre. Not wanting to lose precious cramming time to the distractions of the big city, I'd arrived in Dakar the evening before the exams were due to start. Experience of previous exams had persuaded me to confirm everything by telephone with the registrar the week before. I even got to the centre an hour early to deal with any formalities. The regishere first thing this morning, but only to report sick. He said you'd be coming and would need a room and an invigilator today," said the clerk .

At first this seemed to be only a minor hiccup. A room was waiting. and I was introduced to my personal invigilator. Then it became clear that things weren't going to run smoothly after all. The registrar had not given the director the envelope containing the exam papers and documentation. "Can you come back again another time?" suggested the director. "It is only a minor allment he has, and he said he'll probably be back the day after tomorrow." After spending nine months studying hard, filling a thousand pages of revision notes, and then travelling so far just to get

the invigilator. I turned these are university exams with set times and conditions, that shouldn't be altered at a moment's notice. The tions. From the wall, a picture of the | truth was that I was as ready as I possibly could be for this exam.

After I succeeded in persuading the director to go through his colleague's filing cabinet, the envelope from London emerged. I was then asked to explain what I needed from it. We found the sealed question papers and the answer books, but not my entry slip with my candidate number. It was agreed that I could do the exam without this: as I was the only candidate in the country there would be no chance of a mixup of answer papers, and when the registrar recovered, the number could be entered on the scripts. Thus, just five minutes after the paper should have started, and almost an hour after I arrived. I finally knew I was going to be able to sit the exam.

I sat down with my set of pens and pencils, and my bottle of mineral water. Dakar at exam time is very warm and humid. The English class in the opposite room were listening to a taped lesson about nationalities: "China, Chinese; Japan, Japanese". The invigilator wished me good luck, told me I could start, and settled down to his detective novel.

THE questions were fair, and was happy enough, but by became as challenging as the questions, and my water bottle was empty. My forearm was so damo it stuck to the paper underneath. making writing a problem. The invigilator, having reminded me that only five minutes remained. returned to his book and almost forgot to stop me.

I'll be back next year for the last lot of exams. In the meantime await the results and next year's course material. The problem now is what on earth to do with my soare time. Feeling guilty about not study-ing is a hard habit to break, much harder than not studying. But the man from the video store greeted me like a long lost friend. I'll soon be quite settled into a routine of friends and family again. Just in time for the arrival of the big parcel of books that announces the new

Notes & Queries Joseph Harker

S THERE any reason why so many African leaders (Mobutu Mandela, Museveni, Moi, Muga-be, Meles, Muluzi, Mswati) have ames beginning with M?

ALL BUT one belong to the Bantu family of languages, which is spoken in most of Africa mu-, mo-, ma-, or m', indicates a person, and so is common in African

T IS not only African leaders whose names begin with M. Many African countries (Mali, Madagae the base of the nose to the edge African countries (Mali, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritania, Morocco, of the centre of the upper lip?

African phenomenon, however. The Fowlers in EastEnders named their three children Mark, Michelle and Martin, Magnus Magnusson hosts Mastermind, and Manchester, Madrid and Milan have all won their countries' respective football championships this year. Major took over from Maggie, his deputy is Michael, foreign secretary is Malcolm, his lord chancellor is Mackay and the surnames. The English equivalent | chairman of his party is Mawhinis to be found in suffix form, as in ney. And he has mislaid his mar-Bowman, Brightman, Freeman. — bles. — William Barrett, London

HOW has the word "loo" become a British euphemam for water closet?

THOMAS CRAPPER, 17th cen-I tury engineer and plumber, called his invaluable contraption the water-closet". The respectable Victorian middle classes, swaddling their pianos lest they show too much leg and coining "light" and "dark" meat to avoid saying breast

Clever punsters that they thought they were, they then coined "Waterloo", which gave the double satisfaction of not saying the vulgar thing and keeping alive the memory of a famous victory over the French. Since then, "water" has disappeared altogether, and we are left with "loo". — Michael Woosnam-Mills, La Dinanderie, France

THE WORD loo originally came Mozambique); cities (Maputo, Marakesh, Monrovia)

Mozambique); cities (Maputo, Maputo, Maputo, Marakesh, Monrovia)

Mozambique); cities (Maputo, Maputo, Maputo,

throw the chamber not out into the street while saying "Regarder l'eau!"

to warn any poor fool below. -James Polson, Canberra, Australia

THIS is the shortened version of "Le oo", as used in France in the days when two holes were cut in the door of the WC so that you could see if it was occupied. - Joan Ireson, Harold Wood, Essex

OW DO the French decide the gender of English words adopted into their language?

THERE are at least two exceptions to the rule that French borrowings of English words are masculine except when they apply only to a woman, The French say the grammatical attraction of une suirevus; itself the origin of the weekly@guardian.co.uk, faxed to

— she becomes ине top. — Peter Graham, Mourjou, France

attraction of the masculine nour

modèle. But once she is abbreviated

to top — a favourite French device

Any answers? SIT better to live in an ugly

house opposite a beautiful one an ugly one? — A G Crayford,

GIVEN I have only a few thousand pounds to invest, can anyone suggest a way in which I can acquire enough money to live well off the interest - Martin Pullinger, Hertfordshire



Soap with a surreal feel

TELEVISION

Nancy Banks-Smith

WHAT makes Coronation Street (Granada) so savoury is the writing. It is better than necessary. It is, oohah, just a little bit more.

Fred, Don and Jack are leaning on the bar of the Rovers. Fred is a butcher, who looks like a pig reflected in a spoon. Don is a one-legged taxi driver. If Jack had a cow, he would swop it for a handful of beans. Recently, while under the influence, they bought a racehorse. Horses, you may have noticed, don't buy people. Horses have got more sense.

Alec said to Rita: "Look at them three over there! To think that Walt Disney died before drawing any of them." The image catches your fancy immediately like flypaper.

Fred was bemoaning the feebleness of modern youth in general and his errand boy, Ashley, in particular. (Ashley is the one who would have joined the army, but he hasn't got the qualifications.) "Gastroenteritis!" said Fred. "They don't know what gastroenteritis is these days. They only have to sneeze and they're looking in their armpits for boils."

This, in case you weren't around at the time, is a reference to the black death, which announced itself with a sneeze. The assumption that you will catch all this on the wing is characteristic of the writing.

Roy Newton of Nottinghan who treasures such quotes in an old biscuit box, has reminded me of this unregarded richness. His personal favourite was Hilda Ogden, when someone at the Rovers was caught stealing. "Oooh, they ought to burn his

If it weren't a soap, it would be

Eddie Braben's scripts for Morecambe and Wise had the same unexpected spin. As Glenda Jackson once said, before she grew so serious; "My heart is

EDGAR DEGAS was a reactionary anti-Semite, a miso-

gynist, a half-blind, photo-phobic

hypochondriac and a curmudgeonly.

misanthropic recluse. He was also a

celibate who spent day after day,

year after year, working from the

naked female model in the chaotic

surroundings of his semi-darkened

A sometime writer of sonnets, an

amateur photographer and a com-

been proclaimed "the social realist

whose ambition it was to be an "old-

For Degas himself, however, to

paint was to take part in tradition.

He wanted to emulate the tech-

oulsive art collector, Degas has

of the Impressionist camp", a man

Adrian Searle

archist in art".

to fill the space available.

There is more space available way. At the Rovers, the doors swing in and the doors swing out, and some pass in and little madam, has endured a dark night of the soul - well, two dark nights, Monday and Wednesday — wondering whether to testify against Steve.

It could be worse. The less fortunate are run over by a Blackpool tram or, worse, sent to live in Lowestoft.

Murder Most Horrid (BBC2), no great favourite of mine, of Daisy (Dawn French), a softmistaken for an executioner in curly to disentangle, she executes the entire government by mistake, Live on TV. This, as ratings auccess. As Daisy says, "There hasn't been anything worth watching on telly recently."

completed its tour to Holland. I went myself to see the tulip fields. It was like the battle of Waterloo. The tulips stand to attention in regimented rows until — don't look — they are all beheaded and their heads heaped in scarlet and gold pyramids at the edge of the field. As I once heard Marlenc Dietrich sing to Montgomery of Alamein, "Where have all the flowers gone?"

Naked ambition in a world without men

beating like a whippet in a bowler hat!"

The writers of Coronation Street, who tend to be of long standing, do not work from background biographics. A new

This is obviously the case with Fred (John Savident), who has expanded like a black pudding

now Steve and Vicky are on their others pass out. Vicky, the right

Frankly, my dear, who cares? nation is, will Fred get his feet

turned up trumps with the story hearted abbatoir worker, who is South America. For reasons too you might anticipate, is a roaring

personality emerges, partly from the writer observing the actor.

She did and he got two years.

The question really agitating the under the oak at Rita's? Or, as a lesser scriptwriter would put it,

Gardeners' World (BBC2)

of technical understanding, that "we

These are but some of the many

lives of Degas, whose later work is

on display at the National Gallery until August 26 in an exhibition guest-curated by Richard Kendall.

Degas, it turns out, had so many

personal quirks and contrary identi-

ties that, were he a character in a

novel, we wouldn't believe even in

his fictional existence. Kendall, who

has also written the catalogue,

makes one not only believe in

Degas, but goes a long way towards

though Pissarro called him "an an- to be able to work. Old, deaf and ries of technical manoeuvres which.

Organising the exhibition the matically, Kendall has hung Degas's work by subject — transitional

worked his canvases with assiduous lette, the role of sculpture, the fig- using tracings. Even his densely

vated around himself.

masterly" painter of modern life, about 1910, when he all but ceased

niques of the Venetians, Titian and works, the role of drawing in the

Veronese, and worked and re artist's work, women at their tol-



Uneasy ride . . . Peter Stormare and Steve Buscemi as the incompetent thugs in the Coen brothers' Farge

Coming home to Minnesota

CINEMA

young Rounult, lamenting the lack | the complexity of Degas's later de-

exploding the myths the artist culti- 1 ist canon. Degas's working processing processing the myths the artist culti- 1 ist canon.

The exhibition takes us from artificiality. The exhibition shows

1886, when Degas was 51, until how he worked up his compositions

nearly blind, he survived until 1917. | according to Kendall, prefigure the

Derek Malcolm

The story that follows is about Minnesota. It evokes the abstract landscape of our childhood - a bleak, windswept tundra, resembling Siberia except for its Ford dealerships and Hardee's restaurants. It aims to be both homey and exotic, and pretends

O SAYS Ethan Coen, producer and co-writer of Fargo, in an introduction to the screenplay of the film which won oel Coen, director and co-writer, the Best Director prize at Cannes this year. True or not - and the film is said to be based on a case of kidnapping in the state in 1987 -Fargo is the nearest thing the brothers Coen have accomplished to Blood Simple, the debut which forged their reputation.

There is, however, one vital difference. Fargo is a subtler exercise its characters. It is never certain

velopment, when he created a workl

of self-multiplying, cohesive images,

from which men - apart from the

The exhibition is subtitled Be-

yond Impressionism, and with good

reason. Although the 1886 portrait

of Helene Rouart, standing behind

an enormous chair at her father's

desk, or the unfinished, sketched-in

painting Nude Woman Drying Her-self, with its single layer of thinned-

out oil wash, might superficially be

seen as belonging to an Impression-

dures are marked by their extreme

in both pastel and oil through a se-

production-line expeditions of

Duchamp's multiples or Warhol's

Degas, it turns out, copied and re-copied his own drawings, frequently

Factory silkscreens.

artist's own, intemperate gaze -

are all but excluded.

whether to laugh at them or to treat | bearingly rich (ather-in-law, he them seriously. If this makes for an | wants his wife (Kristin Rudrud) kib | uneasy ride, it also gives the film its cutting edge as Frances McDormand's heavily pregnant detective plods determinedly after her gormless suspects.

Perhaps it is McDormand (Joel Coen's wife and one of America's most distinctive screen actresses) who humanises the film, though the Coens' ability to mix comedy with horror has often been admired before, and their observation of character is well-known.

Her performance is remarkable as she plays the comforting wife to her failed artist husband, has an abortive encounter with an old flame and slowly but surely catches up with her lumpen prey. One feels she could humanise a snake.

The snakes in this case are the hugs (Steve Buscemi and Peter Stormare) who are gingerly hired by William H Macy's inadequate nusband — an inordinately ordinary man who has no idea what or who he is dealing with. Having that seems to be in two minds about | dismally failed to raise loan money from either the bank or his over-

Degas's Dancer Looking At The

the least appropriate support for the

coagulated layers of powdery pig-ment. Somehow, he got away with it, and the remarkable stability of

these works remains something of a

technical mystery.
While Degas relied on his living

Sole Of Her Right Foot

napped in order to extort a million dollar ransom. But he hasn't ever the guts to tell her of the plan.

Perhaps only a director like Ker Loach can make us laugh at his characters without any sense of patronising them. Possibly the Coens go too far to persuade us that Minnesota and its Scandinavian inmigrants are a microcosm of America so enclosed as to be hilarious. Yet the film's style matches and

underscores its content so that there is hardly a false note. The Coens have often been accused of weightless resonance; of making films that look good but end up no more than tributes to a particular genre. The same accusation could or levelled against Fargo. But the Coen brothers are among the most able practitioners in America and this film is one of their best things Beethoven. attempts to turn a familiar genrethe True Crime drama - into some thing miles away from the ordinay. And Frances McDormand austalis as holding a central character as any

appears, as a substitute for the let That said, Degas's sculpture modelled in wax then cast in bronze, provided an inspiration and

ship with material.

Degas's late work is a world d colour, light and physical closeness for an almost blind, self-exiled mas fighting his indifference to the world about him and transcending himself, his meanness, his vieweld. models and the meagre props in his studio—the fusty ballet tutu, the in this marvellous exhibites layers of tonal underpainting, scumbling and glazing. Yet he told the landscape, These worked pastels were made on trace attudio — the fusty ballet tutu, the landscape, These worked pastels were made on trace attudio — the fusty ballet tutu, the landscape, These landscape, worked pastels were made on trace attudio — the fusty ballet tutu, the landscape, the fusty ballet tutu, the landscape, the second pastels were made on trace attudio — the fusty ballet tutu, the landscape, the fusty ballet tutu, the landscape attacks to the fusty ballet tutu.

his work was completed in solilule in the large room above his living quarters. His sculpture. — which apart from the carlier Young Dace Of Fourteen Years, a cast of which is in the Tate, was never shown in his lifetime, except to a few privi leged visitors — was produced, i

only to Matisse and Picasso, but also to figurative sculptors through out the 20th century. The tactility of these small works, replete with the artist's fingerprints and pinch marks, is close in spirit to his port late oil paintings, for which empling late Titlan (whose eyesight also failed), Degas often used his fingers rather than the brush. This was much a physical as a visual relation

GUARDIAN WEEKLY

Nijinsky staged the first bisexual ballet in 1913. It has finally been revived in Verona, writes Judith Mackrell

Jeux sans frontières

A S A DANCER with Diaghilev's | women, but also the women flirting Ballets Russes, Nijinsky be- with each other. This was probably came the superstar of his age - petted by aristocrats, revered by artists and ogled by both men and women. Yet as a choreographer he received some of the worst reviews in history. Though some critics appreciated the post-impressionist modernity of his works, others, who liked their balleta sentimental and exotic, were prone to bluster about "meaningless, pretentious contortions".

With that kind of press Diaghiley was hardly encouraged to treasure Nijinsky's works in his repertoire, and the fate of the 1913 ballet Jeux was typical. It disappeared after only nine performances and its steps were never written down.

One superficial reason why Jeux offended the ballet establishment was the pedestrian nature of its subject. It was about nothing more glamorous than a game of tennis. let much more confrontationally i showed a match that swung both ways. Not only did it present the

with each other. This was probably history's first bisexual ballet, and Nijinsky's often brusque dance style did nothing to soothe his audience's nerves. As well as basing steps on recognisable sporting gestures he also quoted from a startlingly wide variety of dances, including the tango, the turkey trot and oriental movement. The result was an abrasively fragmented dance language that to us seems amazingly post-

For decades it was only possible to read about this tantalisingly revolutionary work, to listen to Debussy's score and to study a dozen or so photographs and drawings. But during the past 15 years dance historians Millicent Hodson and Kenneth Archer have been slowly bringing the lost Nijinsky repertoire back to the stage. They've already reconstructed The Rite Of Spring and Till Eulenspiegel and last month at Verona's Teatro Filamon-

ico, Jeux also came back to life.

these ballets was poignant and painstaking. It involved tracking dancers from the Ballets Russes to all parts of the globe and finding tiny elderly women who struggled out of their chairs to demonstrate ragments of the choreography they'd once performed. It involved But though Hodson and Archer trawling through pages of old diries, letters, notebooks and

views for information. It also involved researching deep into Nijinsky's life. The human body is a live conductor of personal and cultural history, and Nijinsky's choreography was particularly re-ceptive to outside influences. When they were studying Jeux, a softly curled hand gesture pictured in several illustrations had struck Hodson and Archer as curlously oriental. They later discovered that Nilinsky had been posing for Rodin at a time when the sculptor was working on studies of Asian dancers, featuring similar gestures. And then there was the Bloomsbury connection.

It's well known that Jeux was inspired by a nocturnal tennis game Nijinsky had watched at a party given by Ottoline Morrell in 1912, and that Bakst's backdrop was based on a view of Bedford Square. But Hodson and Archer also deduced that Nijinsky's love triangle The process of reconstructing was half inspired by a flirtation he'd

observed between painter Duncan Grant and the two Stephen sisters - Virginia Woolf and Vanessa Bell. Photographs of Nijinsky in Jeux ook uncannily similar to pictures of Grant, with the same averted head, open shirt and loose tie.

amassed a vast stock of movemen images and though they had the score and scenario to guide their structure, they still had to make a ballet. Drawing on all that they'd learned about Nijinsky's style, they spent months moving around pictures and experimenting in the studio to figure out how to make transitions from one step to another.

NO ONE can gauge exactly how close to the original they've come, but when I saw their production of Jeux it certainly didn't feel like a late 20th century pastiche --it felt like a 1913 ballet.

The most obvious sense of period comes via the impressive reconstruction of Bakst's designs, yet the whole atmosphere of the work vibrates with an unfamiliar energy. For instance, we are immediately aware that Nijinsky's view of this tennis triangle is a foreigner's. Had Ashton made a similar ballet it would have been full of upper-class English jokes, but Jeux looks like a

mating ritual spied on by a stranger. It is full of tension and inscrutable. The ballet remains very difficult

to look at. Nijinsky created Jeux as a kind of imagist poem, juxtaposing gestures in often bluntly contrasting styles. The man leaps sportively over a flower bed but his neck is arched violently like some archaic warrior. When the three dancers are flirting, the man suddenly ripples his neck like a cock crowing then one of the women circles her hips or rises on to pointe in a helpless motion of arousal. The man clutches a woman in a tango hold and takes off across the stage, then changes partners at whim. One of the women spins around, beating her arms like a moth round the flame of the young man's beauty. All three swing their arms or race in energetic, sporty leaps. When they embrace as a pair or a trio, their bodies angle in austere, hieratic geometries. These are the seduction games of some strange species, vivid but only half decipherable. Even when Nijinsky creates more familiar classical sequences, the movement is always tense and disrupted by implosive stillnesses.

It's a short ballet, dense with shocking and beautiful information and as soon as it's over you simply

A classic dilemma

In the face of plummeting sales, is the classical

music industry facing a crisis, asks Dan Glaister

EETHOVEN would be glad of one of the golden rules of marketing: nothing increases sales like a controversy. If there is one thing the current furore over the choice of his Ode To Joy as the theme song for the Euro 96 soccer championships should do, it is increase interest in, and sales of, all

It could not be more timely. Two years after the highs of the Three Tenors, classical music has come down to earth with a bump. Sales are down, classical music's share of the market is down, planned releases for next year are down.

"Things are very tough," admits Matthew Cosgrove, general manager of Warner Classics. "It is a cause for concern. There are too many things coming out." Too many things coming out? "We have a vast heritage of high-quality recordings, but we have to look at a more interesting repertoire. We have to get artists to look outside Brahms, Bruckner, Beethoven . . . We have to say to artists: Why are we mak-

ing these records?" " It is a worrying state of affairs when the general manager of Britain's second biggest classical music label wonders, why the recordings are being made.

"Compilations are essential at the Cosgrove, "If you can generate with a new star. "We've had success 30,000 units and a high-profile chart with a rest-led things," says John position you can generate the in- Kennedy, assistant manager of the come to record more obscure classical department at the HMV works." Even so, it is small beer.

culled from Classic FM's much very excited by the artists. of material that all the companies of material that all the co a week. Hardly record-breaking grove. But the Three Tenors are adopted for new recordings was suff. The next six positions are occurring to London in July. We'll see often both cynical and short.

classical music: The Best Classical Album In The World Ever!, The Ultimate Guitar Collection, 100 Popular Classics, Songs Of Sanctuary, Classic Moods... "You have to go down to number 30 before you get a proper classic CD," says Cosgrove. "but that only sold 228 units last week. You're not going to get fat on

One company that has put on some weight on the back of an extended repertoire is Hyperion. Its sales manager, Mike Spring, argues that the classical sector is paying the price of its own success. "I peaked, but it provided an artificial picture. Because of the boom caused by the arrival of CDs and then the success of people like the Three Tenors, a lot of people entered the market. Everything that was available anywhere became available everywhere."

Now the companies are playing chicken. "Everybody agrees that there is too much product but nobody's going to be the first to cut down. Consequently, individual sales have fallen. We tend to specialise in an off-the-beaten-track repertoire and there seems to be an nsatiable demand for it," he says.

The majors are hoping to follow the example of specialist companies like Hyperion and Chandos. "It's something we'll have to look at very closely," say Cosgrove "The way forward is to extend the repertoire with composers such as Korngold and Górecki, as well as the modern . Soviet composers."

Alternatively, the majors can try store in Oxford Circus. Things like The number one recording in the the Alagna-Gheorghiu collabora. If the CD revolution brought a current British classical charts, tion, Duets And Arias. People are new lease of life to the archives.



The Three Tenors: their success obscured how badly the rest of the classical industry is doing

Companies stuck in a groove | dard repertory for a time. But even that is ultimately a dimin-

HERE aren't going to be too many tears shed, one imagines, on hearing the news that the major record companies are having to come to terms with a sharp fall in their sales, writes Andrew Clements.

Sales of classical discs took a smaller share of the total British market last year (7.4 per cent) than at any time since the advent of the compact disc in 1982. There have been grim prognosti-cations of the end of the classical recording industry as we know it biggest international stars can no longer rely on a stream of ... lucrative contracts to lure them

into the studio.
Sympathy only extends so far.
If the CD revolution brought a

would create an endless appetite for the basic repertory: that every artist signed up could be relied upon to sell a steady volume of the tried and the tested: that each bright young conducto would record his own cycle of the Brahms symphonies; every planist put out his versions of the Beethoven sonatas and, fatally, that every record buyer. would want to sample them. As omplete saturation threatened, so their marketing strategies be-came more hysterical and banal.

tion of performers should want to establish its own distinctive : credentials as interpreters of the great classics. But who will want to buy a new version of the Choral Symphony when mid-price and budget labels can offer performances by Klemperer and Fürtwängler, Kleiber and Jochum? The rise of the period, instrument movement promised. to contradict this process of ishing return. When all of Brahms and Bruckner is available recorded on instruments of the period, when there is a complete Ring cycle heard with the kind of orchestra that Wagner would have known, then that niche market too will be

approaching meltdown. What have remained buoyant are the smaller labels, willing and able because of their lower overheads to specialise and to take calculated risks. Record buyera who are still expanding their collections may not be insymphonies by Beethoven, Brahms or Mahler, but are will-. ing to get to know works they would meet only rarely.

This discriminating section of

the market may not be as large as the companies would like and will never sell the same as an allstar glitzy opera set. However, there are signs that some major labels are learning the lesson. But it is almost certainly too litcupied by recordings that purists what happens. Perhaps they'll sighted. It assumed that the would deride as not being proper. knock Beethoven off the top spot. Would deride as not being proper. diminishing returns and to make itle too late for the kind of lavish



From a foaming drink to an orgy of chocolate

Joan Smith

The True History of Chocolate Sophie D Coe & Michael D Coe Thames and Hudson 280pp £16.95

THE Marquis de Sade, banged up in various prisons and asylums for more than half his adult life, seems to have had two great passions, sex and chocolate. The shopping lists he regularly sent to his wife included boxes of ground chocolate, crème au chocolat, chocolate pastilles, large chocolate biscuits, vanilla pastilles au chocolat, and even cacao butter suppositories, which were regarded as a cure for piles.

Whether de Sade subscribed to the widely held view that chocolate on its own was an aphrodisiac is unclear but, during his long years of incarceration, he regularly indulged his craving and grew grossly fat.

In the previous century one of Charles II's doctors, Henry Stubbes, published an essay entitled The Natural History Of Coffee, Thee (sic), Chocolate And Tobacco in which he asserted that "the great Use of Chocolate in Venery, and for Supplying the Testicles with a Balsam, or a Sap" was already so well known that he would not treat the subject at length. He could not resist observing, however, that "if the amorous and martial Turk should ever taste it, he would despise his Oplum", and claimed that sophisticated Londoners rated chocolate

above aphrodistacs like Spanish fly. The authors of The True History Of Chocolate, both American an thropologists, have an open mind on the subject. The most extensive recent study, published in France in 1990, identifies four compounds in chocolate — caffeine, theobromine, serotonin and phenyi-ethylamine — duced his own sister-in-law, had so much as tasted a Mars bar.

Laura Tennent

by Maera Syal Flamingo 328pp £9.99

MEERA SYAL'S first novel about an Indian girlhood in

the Black Country succeeded in

reducing me to tears on the bus

- so much so that I had to stop

and, secondly, making me laugh

Generally speaking, I don't even like the faux natveté of a

child's eye view. Perhaps it is

because other writers imagine

children as mournfully uncom

endows nine-year-old Meena

with a full complement of self-

might have about an Indian

childhood in Britain are swiftly

deflated in Syal's prologue. "I do

not have many memories of my very early childhood, apart from

the obvious ones, of course. You

know, my windswept, bewii-

dered parents in their dusty

the open doorway of a 747,

blinking back tears of gratite

Indian village garb, standing in

and heartbreak . . . " she writes,

daring us to take her seriously.

Growing up in Tollington, a small former mining village,

Any preconceptions the reader

prehending, whereas Syal

out loud and insist on excerpting

reading to save my mascara —

bits for the nearest friend.

Anita and Me

Junglee among the English

and concludes that it is an effective anti-depressant which also enhances pleasurable activities, including making love.

It is not always clear whether such analyses of the chemical structure of chocolate are based on the raw cacao bean, the processed bean, cheap bars of chocolate containing low quantities of the fat (cacao butter) obtained from the processed bean, or a piece of luxury chocolate containing at least 50 per cent of the expensive "cacao solids" left behind when the fat is removed. The French firm of Valrhona.

south of Lyon, employs a full-time jury of 10 whose job is to eat chocolate all day, checking the quality of the company's products. Its Guanaja 1502 bar, the Rolls-Royce of chocolate, is named after the date and the place, an island north of Honduras. where Christopher Columbus first encountered a trading canoe belonging to the Maya. Chocolate played a central role in this sophisticated Mesoamerican culture, where it was enjoyed as a foaming drink and used as a form of currency Indeed it was as a drink that choco late was consumed for at least 28 centuries of its 3,000-year history.

The Marquis de Sade probabl acquired his fondness for the stuff from his aristocratic family, al-though they would have been scan-dalised by the use to which he put it. One of the most persistent legends about his life concerns a ball he gave in Marseille in June 1772, at which chocolate pastilles laced with Spanish fly were served, causing the ceremonies to degenerate into an orgy. What is certain is that not one of the revellers, including de Sade himself, who supposedly se-

Meena is a "junglee", a wild giri, torn between the super-civilised world of her liberal, highly edu-

cated parents and the earthier

ives of her white, working-class

eighbours. Chief among them

s Anita, 11 going on 18, pretty,

pitchy, dangerous and irresistible

It registers merely as the local

shopkeeper's ignorance and

tactlessness; by the end of the

Lowbridge, village tough and Tollington's first skinhead.

new baby and the awfulness of the English but, in the nick of time, Meena's maternal grand-

mother arrives, bringing with

her the healing essence of India. Anita And Me is full of plea-

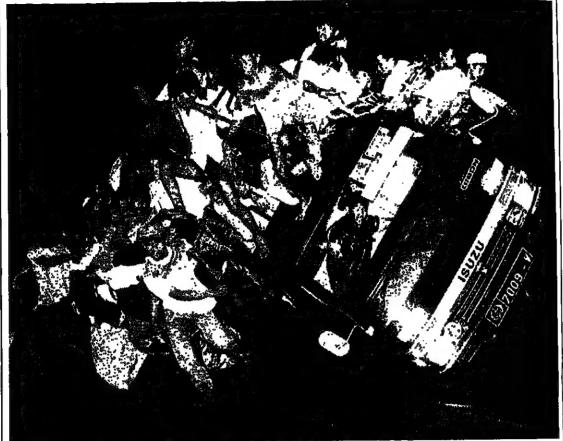
sures. Syal is as skilful at ren-

at describing Meena's "uncles and aunties", her parents'

Indian friends. The book is ex-

and robustness of spirit.

Over the course of the book (a



That this truck, carrying more than 100 youths, keeled over is perhaps less amazing than that it was photographed. It was taken by Sholihuddin for the Jawa Pos Daily, Indonesia, in May last year as football supporters came home from a match. Most of the passengers escaped unharmed. It is reproduced in the World Press Photo Yearbook 1996 (Thames & Hudson, £9.95) and can be seen with ther World Press Photo award winners at the Royal Festival Hall, London, from June 21 to July 21

Snapshot of the push-button age

George Eastman: A Blography Johns Hopkins University Press 688pp £27.50

PHOTOGRAPHY is about the same age as George Eastsame age as George East-man, the founder of Kodak, but his biography has less obvious mass-market appeal. Short on love interest and long on recipes for emulsions and coating machinery, the story of the man who invented continuous film and the cameras to go with it is also that of a man who spent his life in the town in which he was born, never married and apart from excursions to Europe and Africa, worked pretty solidly until the day he died — at which late point events take an unexpected

year in Meena's life), Sysi traces the development of Anita's cor-rosive, manipulative friendship His was a textbook American life: self-made millionaire by 40 (this and Meena's loss of innocence in was 1894), and a social philanthe face of village racism. At first thropist in the style of Carnegle and Rockefeller thereafter. This book similarly divides neatly into two halves; how Eastman made his book it is embodied aggressively money, and how he spent it. Neverand overtly in the figure of Sam theless, Elizabeth Brayer manages to build some tension into what was; certainly in his early career, easen Meena is betrayed by Anita and ially a race to the patents office. her "Mama" seems about to be

Rogue patents dogged Eastman's whose alchemy began at night, in dering the saucy, ballsy backchat his home laboratory, after a day at of the Tollington women as she is

In 1879, the year Eastman regis-tered his first dry-coating machine, pertly structured and engagingly written, illuminated throughout Thomas Edison patented his electric light-bulb and was working on by Meena's ironical irreverence improvements to Alexander Gra- boxes into people's faces - and a ham Bell's telephone, patented verb to Kodak as you go".

three years earlier. By the time Eastman christened his hand-held camera "Kodak" in 1888, both the phone and light-switch were in commercial use. Eastman's slogan, "You press the button, we do the rest", in retrospect, celebrated not just the simplicity of popular photography, but a hundred-and-one new laboursaving devices: the start of the push-

button age.

If it hadn't been for a prospecting streak, which involved him in an abortive plan to buy land on Hispaniola in the Caribbean, Eastman might never have picked up a camera. Photographs seemed the best way of recording the territory. Experimenting with his own pictures (and the experience of lugging camera, tripod and the paraphernalia involved in conting glass plates with wet emulsion i he dark) drove Eastman to find faster, cheaper and more reliable

After selling the rights to his conting machine in London, he moved on to perfecting strips of paper-backed film and a neat little rolling device which wound it on. He added a revolving shutter, and in 1887, "the little roll-holder breast camera", weighing only 22 ounces, with 100 exposures on one roll of film, arrived on the market. Eastman called it the Kodak.

tune either fending off — or in seri- | with me — it seems a strong, incious cases, buying out — the sive sort of letter... Then it became competition. This constant fear of a question of trying out combinaindustrial sabotage is a reminder of | tions of letters that made words how crowded the late 19th century starting and ending with K . . . It of cod-psychology. The foreword of was with inventions — many of became the distinctive word for our the current president of Estimates. them from amateurs like Eastman, | products." His word entered the language all too easily. The company had to insist on "Kodak camera", and "Kodak film" (much as Polaroid do today) to prevent the name becoming generic. It was used as a noun - "Kodakers" were everywhere, hoisting their little wooden

Brownie (named after Frank Brownell, who designed it), Eastman made his fortune. He secured it, though, by closing the circle of production: film sales, processing and developing paper would be come more important than cameras

By 1890, Eastman was writing to his mother: "We are wealthy enough now to live in comfort... There is no liability of our ever have ing too little again." He embarked upon a twin programme of domestic and philanthropic expansion that made Rochester one of the best endowed cities and Rastman one o the most comfortable and perenal ally eligible bachelors in America.

ESPITE descriptions of being tacturn and reserved, he seems to have taken hige pleasure in spending his money on himself and his mother (though alse never seems to have shared his dollar-happiness), as much as on his long list of beneficiaries. Between 1912 and 1920 (under the pseudo nym of Mr Smith) he gave the Massachusetts institute of Technoogy (MII), from which he had hired graduate chemists with an amazingly high success into around \$20 million. The University of Rochester received a medical school, dental school and the work-

famous Eastman School of Music Sensibly, in dealing with a life that is rich in facts and poor in end tional evidence, Brayer steers clear of cod-psychology. The foreword by Kodak sets a corporate tone that is largely mitigated when you red graphers have faced when research ing Eastman's life and the details of

What happened to him wouldn't be fair to tell. It's aurising, that's all. But the blog arise needs all the mystery she can get

Celebration of lawlessness

Keith Thomas

Liberty Against the Law: Some Seventeenth-Century Controversies by Christopher Hill lien Lane: The Penguin Press

N 17th century England, the law was often regarded as an instrument of class oppression. "Truly most laws are but to enslave the poor to the rich," wrote the Digger Gerrard Winstanley; the state, he declared, was "a government of

In an age when political rights were confined to a minority, when many of the population lived at subsistence level and when it was a capital offence to steal goods worth more than a shilling, there was much to be said for this view. As the onymous author of Tyranipocrit Discovered complained in 1649, the rich "make themselves thieves by Act of Parliament . . . They . . . hang a poor man if he do steal, when they have wrongfully taken from him all

in this, his 21st book on the period, Christopher Hill returns yet again to the theme of social injustice in early modern England, He reminds us of the game laws and the press gang, the criminal code and the acts against vagrancy. He sees them as parts of an oppressive legal system which secured the advance of capitalism by dispossessing the peasantry, obliterating customary rights and creating a landless class of wage labourers.

Liberty Against The Law is a cele-bration of those contemporaries who expressed their sense of alienation by deliberately flouting the law. Some did so for reasons of conscience, like the antinomians. who claimed sexual liberty on the grounds that the godly were exempt rom the moral law: the Ranter Abiezer Coppe declared that he

could "kiss and hug ladies and love devastated by the activities of Euromy neighbour's wife as myself pean colonists.

Others broke the law so as to make a living. Hill instances poachers, highwaymen, smugglers and pirates. He has a lot of sympathy with these delinquents, many of whom he considers "performed a socially useful function". Highwaymen, indeed, may have been more honourable than some contemporary businessmen. He finds pirates particularly attractive because these "freemen of the seas" rejected wage labour and were often forthrightly egalitarian and anti-clerical in their views. He quotes a Captain Bellamy, erned by laws which rich men have made for their own security", claiming that "they rob the poor under cover of law forsooth, and we plunder the rich under the protection of оиг соцгаже".

ILL emphasises the surprising degree of respect with which these law-breakers were treated in the popular literature of the age. The Robin Hood ballads kept alive the myth of the freedom of the greenwood, where gallant outlaws robbed the rich to help the poor and cocked a snook at figures of authority. Highwaymen could become folk heroes; and in many local communities offences like poaching and smuggling were not regarded as crimes at all.

Contemporary literature also expressed a degree of envy for those no, voluntarily or involuntarily, found themselves outside the system altogether. Hill shows how beggars and vagabonds were represented by poets as enjoying a freedom denied to those who owned property or worked for wages, John Dryden coined the expression "noble savage" to describe the superior life of those native peoples

The pleasures of poverty are an abiding theme in English literature and we should perhaps not take its 17th century version any more literally than we do the obsession of early 20th century Georgian poets with tramps and gypsies.

As Hill wryly concedes, it is unlikely that many of the ballads and plays in praise of the beggar's life were written by beggars. Nevertheless, he is right to point to the ambivalence with which contemporaries regarded the life of law-break-

Whether he is also right to imply that wage labour was generally thinks that "many must have felt" hostility to wage earning and surmises that the life of the gypsies "must have appealed to many". But the evidence suggests that people could work for wages by choice rather than coercion; and the growing supply of consumer goods enarnings to leisure.

Neither can it really be true that the law had nothing to offer to the poor. Of course, any system which protected private property and up-held contracts was bound to favour the haves against the have-nots. But laws against petty theft and interpersonal violence were in everyone's

The rather loosely related themes of the book will not be new to admirers of Christopher Hill's work. But his view of the 17th century is less influential in the age of New Labour than it was in the 1960s; and one can understand why he feels the need for some reiteration. Like all Hill's other books, his latest is full of ideas with which others will want to argue and from which everyone can learn. And how cheering to find an 84year-old celebrating the virtues of

Raise the scaffold high

Deborah Orr

A Perfect Execution by Tim Blnding Picador 344pp £15.99

READ Tim Binding's second novel on holiday, as part of a weirdly compulsive pig-out on new iction. I wasn't sure I'd even bother with it; the title was such a turn-off, I'm fed up with killing as the centre of everything. So I read maybe a lozen others (Irst.

But every single one of them, from Joanna Trollope to Roddy Doyle, from John Lanchester to Penelope Lively, featured murder, suicide and assassination - some



Brutal truth: Tim Binding

Mostly it was casual violence, in there to generate excitement, or just to round things off. Novelists are turning into hooligans. Tim Binding

The central narrative sounds like typically post-Tarantino piece of violence fetishism. A Perfect Execution is about Jeremiah Bembo, alias Solomon Straw, the most professional and skilful of the men who

ravelled the railways of post-war Britain, carrying out the hangings required by the law courts. A market gardener by trade, he treats his second profession with the utmost espect, sacrificing for it all else that should be of value in his life. His goal, of course, is to conduct the perfect execution.

The first of many sub-plots tells the story of Jem's cousin and foil, Will. Jem is reserved, introverted, prudish. Will is brash, extrovert, frivolous, sensual. Jem becomes an executioner. Will becomes a vaudevillian comedian. The two represent the extremes of choice available to post-forties, rural Britons, and much of the book is concerned with how the second world war shaped British society through the fifties, sixties and seventies.

But mostly it deals with the consequences of institutionalised brutality — not just the war and the death penalty, but also the reactions f Jem and Will to the Punch and Judy show they run together as youths and, crucially, the village men's barbarism towards outsiders, and the weak among themselves.

The pivotal moment in the novel and in Jem's life comes when a German pilot crashes on Jem's land. Binding's description of it is extraordinarily visceral and unsettling. During the epic scene, Jem loses the sight in one eye. His vision newly impaired, he is forced to witness his friends and peers attacking the defenceless pilot, hanging in his parachute from a tree. It is then that Jem resolves to become an executioner. He wants to protect men such as "his" German pilot from crude bloodlust, the like of which e witnesses later in his fellow executioners, and to kill men, who must die anyway, with brevity, understanding, purity and love. It is not until the life of one of Jem's victims entwines with his own that he realises how misguided is his wellmeaning justification.

Taking the weight out of gravity

he Physics of Star Trek by Lawrence M Krauss HarperCollins 188pp £12.99

Black Holes: A Traveller's Guide by Clifford A Pickover Viley 210pp £19.99

WO lightweight books on mat ters of gravity: one trivial and enlightening, one trivial and silly. Krauss writes for a non-specialis audience (not necessarily dedicated Trekkies) whom he treats like adults; Pickover for astrophysical groupies, black hole heads, quasar buffs.

Like most non-mathematicians with a smattering of physics I grasp the notions of relativity, variable gravity whenever I read an adequate explanation. I retain it for about a micro-second, or roughly one and a half light-furlongs.

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AUTHORS WORLD-WIDE INVITED MINERVA PRESS

Krauss has one of the more mem- | particles? Alas, neither: melting orable versions: he likens the strange muddles of time-shortening and relativistic dilatation to the conusions we would have about length and distance if we shut one eye and turn ourselves into Cyclopses, If we open our pineal eye and think in four dimensions the paradoxes vanlah. But time-keeping remains difficult: jaunting about at or close to the speed of light, the clocks on differfriendly fashion. ent vessels would move apart and ships be thousands of years early or late for rendezvous: no way to run a

argues, not theoretically impossible, but needs either negative energy (which he won't permit) or exces-There's a picture of the giant accelerator in Illinois, and an amusing calculation of how far a year's production of anti-matter would take a starship. (Currently \$48 million for a milliwatt. Of course it may get

Space Navy. Hence the federation observes a speed limit; hence, when

the USS Enterprise needs to hurry,

the "warp drive", which is, Krauss

of a cartel of anti-sheikhs.) Star Trek's most characteristic gadget is the transporter. And how, in any kind of imaginable universe, do you beam people? Do you digi-

lown the average earthling to subnuclear particles would require, calculates Krauss, the energy of a hundred one-megaton hydrogen bombs. On the other hand, reducing the body to pure energy would release the energy of a thousand I-bombs: "it is hard to imagine how to do this in an environmentally

There's also the problem that the digitised information in an averagely complicated human being measures about 10th megabytes, a hundred million million times all the information in all the books in all the libraries in the world; it would equire a pile of computer discs 10,000 light years high.

DT generous Krauss, extrapoly from the improve ments in his PC over the past 10 | improbable phenomenon, possible years, thinks this may be possible in only within such a cosmically nara century or two. You have to ignore | row range of conditions, that the matters like quantal loss of information, which would make beam-travellers all blurred, like politicians, Is | made for our benefit. This, "the ancheaper, or it may fall into the hands | all this footling? You could argue that warp drive, inertial dampers, | crous, a child's amazement that of tractor beams and Doppler compensators are not technological but narrative devices, not to be analysed. | where Mummy and Daddy lived. But Star Trek authors have detise them and just transmit the infor-signed a non-whimsical, self-consismation, or do you somehow tent universe, and it is instructive as lessly imparted to anyone willing to

engages with the domain of the possible, which is still considerably larger than the domain of the actual It's bracing to discover how much hysicists don't know. For all the threats to the Very

Structure of Time Itself, Star Trek World is twinkly with hopes and good intentions. There's something enign, democratic, American about all this. No one is going to write the physics of Doctor Who, which is not about science — feasiole, or possible or marginally imposaible — but about spaceman about bluffing one's way through the galaxy: the Doctor, a mini superhero as English as Stilton, is admired for his self-deprecating wit. Krauss discusses, with not too

straight a face, impulse beams, cloaking, black holes, and wormioles. He lists Star Trek's 10 sillest nistakes. He speculates on the possibility of alien life, touching on whether any kind of life is such an fact that we exist at all should persuade us that the universe was thropic principle", seems to me ludiall the houses in all the towns, it happened to be born in the one

Krauss is genial, optimistic, modest. A lot of exotic science is painliquidise them and transmit them as | well as entertaining to see how far it | make a small investment of imagina-

tion. Science fiction can make a lot of science painlessly accessible.

By contrast Pickover's tiresome book is aimed at a coterie. Facts and speculations are imparted by means of a narrative told in the second person, an unendurable artifice. There is a tweely didactic dialogue etween the reader (allegedly) and a Mr Piex, purportedly a member of a diamond-skinned alien species

alled a Scolex. To make matters coyer, there is Mrs Plex, a humanoid blonde. After each passage of dialogue there follows "the science behind the science fiction". (As Peter Ustinov said, "This is a joke, When I have finished laughing at it I shall explain it point by point.") Everything is designed to present science as the activity of an inward-looking and bsessional coterie, a chosen tribe: the Nerds of Nerdistan.

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GUARDIAN WEEKLY

For the sake of tradition

Paul Evane

nounced the start of the procession and brought the soft spring rain down from the hilltops of the Welsh Marches into the little Shropshire village of Aston on Clun. Down the hill came the piper followed by a pony and trap and children dressed in 17th century costume shepherded by Pam, a modern-day earth-mother. The procession joined a throng of about 200 people waiting by the Arbor Tree. The child bride and groom and the rest of the wedding party assembled in front of the tree. There were photographs, a speech from the town crier and the singing of the Arbor Tree song. Accordions played, morris dancers whacked their sticks and Pam scattered white petals over all and sundry.

HE SKIRL of bagpipes an-

This village pageant is the annual re-enactment of a famous local wedding. Back in 1786, Squire Marsdon of Oaker married Mary Carter of Sibdon who left money for the tree to be "dressed" annually on their anniversary, which coincided with the festival of Arbor Day. The ceremony of dressing the Arbor Tree goes back to May 29, 1660 when Charles the new Arbor Tree is already 20ft

II celebrated the restoration of the | tall and looks very fine. The bigger monarchy. The ancient black poplar flags are on poles next to the trunk that stood in the village of Aston on Clun for centuries was hung with | The villagers of Aston on Clun have flags and ribbons, the legendary sole survivor of those decorated by Charles II.

That these celebrations are the last vestiges of pagan tree-worship and fertility rites may have been too much for church-going villagers to admit to. Nevertheless the festival, reinterpreted through successive performances to suit the values of changing times concealed, like the thick, rugged bark of the tree itself, a living mystery. Last autumn, disaster struck and the tree fell down.

came down I went to Aston on Clun to pay my respects. I went to the of Oman. I asked if this meant the end for the Arbor Day pageant. "Not while there's breath left in my body," said Pam.

There's obviously a lot of breath left in Pam. The stump was removed, the area landscaped and a

their tree back and, come rain or shine, the Arbor Day procession

Not long after the Arbor Tree

village shop where Pam had folded away the flags, including some from America, Canada and the Sultanate

and bunting festoons the branches.

looks set to dance into the next But is this like the old country broom: even with a few new brushheads and a few new handles, it's still the same broom? Has the ritual become more important than the tree? Black poplar *Populus nigra* is a most distinctive English tree which characterised the medieval countryside. Since 1800 it has become rare

tree of flood-plains and meadows, by its nature it produces huge leaning towers which eventually fall over, throwing out new roots and branches from the prostrate trunk. It will take centuries for the new

in England and even more un-

common in continental Europe. A

tree to achieve the ruggedness of the original. Whether or not children will re-enact the wedding ceremony in its shadow and whether the flags of this and other nations will fly from its branches, whenever spring rains drift through the valleys of the Welsh Marches long may the Arbor Tree live.

Chess Leonard Barden

SLOUGH defeated the reigning champions, Midlands, last month in the deciding match for Britain's chesa league.

Both teams were packed with GMs and IMs, and victory means a place in next senson's European Cup, an event where the UK has a dismal record.

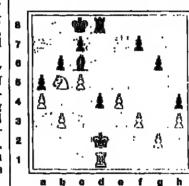
Slough's victory was another andmark for the team sponsor, local businessman Nigel Johnson, whose backing has already helped Adams, Miles, Lalic and other GMs qualify for the squad.

Johnson is performing a valuable service for British chess, but even his powerful group is not assured of European success. Saralevo were hot favourites

for the 1995 European Cup when they fielded Bosnia's Silver-medal winning olympiac team, strengthened by Garry Kasparov, no less, and Adams. Their semi-final opponents, Yerevan, were without their heat player and arrived for the match with no database computer, no chess set, and no reserve.

The night before the finals one of the Armenians went down with acute pain in his knee and was taken to hospital. He took part under anaesthetic and on crutches. The result? Yerovan 4. Sarajevo 2, with Adams losing and Kasparov scraping a lucky Adams was also involved in

the strangest incident of this vear's UK league.



McDonald v Adams

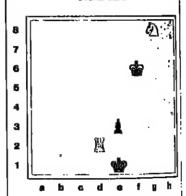
IM Neil McDonald had some advantage from the white aide of an Exchange Ruy Lopez, and now played 1 cxb6 Bxb5 2 axb5 c5?? McDonald, however, was so

shocked that he wondered whether he had missed some obscure footnote in en passant captures when the capturing side has pawns on both the lifth and sixth ranks.

Eventually he played 3 bxc6 ep, Adams resigned, and the spectators and journalists said, "Of course, White is winning anyway since 2... cxb6 falls to 3 Rc1+ and 4 Rc6 when Black soon loses pawns.'

Then Adams's team-mate Bogdan Lalic pointed out (1 cxb6 Bxb5 2 axb5) Kb7!! when 3 bxc7 Kxc7 plans Kb6xb5 gobbling up the white b pawns with fair chances of achieving a draw.

No 2424



White to play and win (by D Gurgenidze). White's rook has to move, and only one square secures victory.

No 2423: 1 Bb L. If Nxc6+2 Qxc6+ Kxc6 3 Be4. If 1 ... Kc4/d4 2 Qg4+ Kb3/c33 Qb4 or 2 . . . Ke3 3 Bg5 or 2 . . . Kd5/c5 3 Qc4, If 1 . . . Ke5 2 Qf5+ Kd4 3 Qc5. If 1 ... b4 2 Qf5+ Kxc6 (Kc4 3 Qd3) 3 Be4. If 1. . . Na6 2 Qd7+ Kc4 2 Qd3.

100 TE 2 TE 200

Surfs him right . . . Schumacher heads for his first victory since joining Ferrari PHOTOGRAPH BEN RADFORD

Rain in Spain spurs Schumacher

Alan Henry in Barcelona

ICHAEL SCHUMACHER produced one of the greatest wet-weather drives in history to secure an overwhelming victory in the Spanish Grand Prix on Sunday — his first win for Ferrari.

His triumph opened up the world championship after the points leader Damon Hill spun off the near-flooded Circuit de Calalunya and crashed his Williams-Renault into the pit wall. "I am just relieved to be in one piece," said Hill, "I am pleased to be out of the race."

Schumacher won by more than 45 seconds from Jean Alesi's Benetton to move into joint second in the champion ship, on 26 points with Hill's team-mate Jacques Villeneuve, who finished a strong third in

only his third race in rain. Only engine lapsed on to nine cylinsix of the 20 starters finished. ders and ran slightly erratically At the finish the world chamthrough to the end of the race. pion was mobbed by his The handicap might have afmechanics, who were celebratfected the outcome had condi-tions been dry, but in such ing Ferrari's second win in 31 races and their first since Alesi won in Canada 12 months ago. heavy rain the world champion's

Heinz-Harald Frentzen, who "At half-distance, around lap 33, I just had about eight or nine escaped unhurt from a crash in cylinders working, which wasn't the warm-up which shattered the rear of his Sauber, was too pleasant because I worried fourth in the spare car. that it would be difficult to fin-McLaren's Mika Hakkinen and ish, but the car stayed together,' Ligier's Pedro Diniz finished fifth and sixth. he said. Hill made a poor start from

Such was Schumacher's mas probable once he had surfed through into the lead on lap 12, having overcome a slight prob-

skill was the deciding factor.

tend with a mechanical problem from half-distance when his V10

Steve Howey, Gareth Southgate, Sol Campbell, Stuart Pearce, Philip Neville, Darren Anderton, Steve Stone, Paul Gascoigne, Paul Ince, David Platt, Jamie Redknapp, Steve McManaman, Les Ferdinand, Rob-bie Fowler, Nick Barmby, Teddy Sheringham and Alan Shearer. Between them, Shearer

Fowler (36) and Ferdinand (29) scored 102 goals for their clubs last season, and Sheringham netted an-

Sports Diary Shiv Sharma

hours after the England team ar-

rived back from their Far East tour.

His summer collection of 22 is:

David Seaman, Tim Flowers, Ian

Walker, Gary Neville, Tony Adams,

On Euro marks

Euro 96 is a virtual sell-out, with fewer than 150,000 of the 1.4 million tickets still to be sold. Organisers described the demand for tickets as 'ohenomenal".

It is the biggest football festival Britain has witnessed for 30 years. and if you'd like to know more about there are more than a million words on Eurosoccer.com — the Guardian and Vauxhall/Opel internet site. The URL is http://www.

APAN and South Korea are to

the first to be held in Asia. The ex-

ecutive of Fifa, the sport's world

governing body, meeting in Zurich, endorsed a European proposal to hold the first finals of the 21st cen-

tury in the two Asian countries. The

decision to co-host the finals was seen as a bitter defeat for Fifa presi-

dent, 80-year-old João Havelange,

who was seen as a staunch oppo-

share soccer's 2002 World Cup,

pole position, suffered two spins and was running a lowly eighth when his race ended on the 11th "I made mistakes and had the

wrong-set up on the car," he admitted. "It was really down to me what happened today, but the big problem was visibility."

Athletics European Cup

Christie keeps the world at a distance

tery that his victory became

lem with his clutch at the start.

However, he also had to con-

Duncan Mackay in Madrid

THE "will he or won't he?" games continue but the biggest tense n athletics must surely have made up his mind about going to Atlanta, after a weekend when he continued o rewrite the record books but heard his claim to be the world's fasteat man dismissed by a young pretender to his Olympic crown.

After waking up to the news that rinidad's Ato Boldon had clocked the fastest time of the year in America, Linford Christie went out here to claim a record 15th European Cup title, winning the 200m in 20.25sec.

And surely he will not be able to resist the challenge thrown down to him by Boldon, who said: "Only my-self, Donovan Bailey or Carl Lewis can win the Olympics."

They are words that will be like a red rag to a bull. Christie, after a sculptured as one of Hemingway's matadors and is not looking like a man ready to embrace retirement.

The 200m victory was added to his 10.04sec 100m triumph on Saturday, when he had broken his own cup record by one-hundredth of a cup record by one-hundredth of a second to continue his proud his tory of not having lost to a European sprinter in a major championship for 10 years. On Friday he was due to take a

slep up in class when he was to Compete in Nuremberg, meeting Bailey for the first time since the Christie dominant

Canadian accused the Briton of fak- | cial team sponsor on his team vest. ing injury in last year's world cham-pionship, which Bailey won.

But, as ever, whereas Christie covered himself in glory on the track, his behaviour off it let him down. First he was Captain Invisible when he anubbed his colleagues by arriving too late on Friday to attend the team meeting, then he refused to display the logo of Britain's offi-



Jonathan Edwards was the only other British winner of an individual event on Sunday, although Mark Richardson, Jamie Baulch, Mark Hylton and Du'aine Ladejo combined to win the 4x400m relay.

Edwards's winning leap of 17.79 metres was achieved at almost the same time Christie was winning the 200m. It helped kick-start a late British surge, in which they recovered to reclaim second place behind Germany; it was the fifth consecutive occasion Britain had filled that position. The British women were sixth, Germany again winning. It was in this event in Lille 12

months ago that Edwards started pushing back the boundaries of triple jumping when he leapt a monster wind-nided 18.43m and launched a summer which included two world records and a world title, stuttering season continued.

fort half a metre further than the runner-up Vladimir Kravchenko. Yet after his peerless 1995 his performance here, where he fouled the other three jumps he attempted. World Cup qualifying campaign in combined with his tentative show in great style with a 50 win against Atlanta two weeks ago, did not dis- Group Seven minnows San Marino. pel the sense that Edwards is vulnerable and uncertain whether he Ryan Glggs, Andy Melville and can ever recapture his record-break-Mark Pembridge contributed one

nent of the idea to split the event.

A N "incident" on board a Cathay Pacific plane bringing the England soccer team home from their pre-Euro 96 Far East tour has landed the players with a bill esti-mated at £5,000. Those responsible for the damage to an in-flight TV set will share the cost, said the England coach, Terry Venables. The set was damaged after a party allegedly got

S COTLAND'S build-up to Euro 96 suffered a further setback when they were beaten 1-0 by Colombia at the Orange Bowl in Miami. It was their fourth defeat in the last five international friendlies. Scotland's tormentor was Faustino Asprilla, who got the winner eight minutes from time in driving rain.
The Republic of Ireland suffered

a similar fate when they went down the selectors list for Atlanta, but his to Portugal in Dublin by a lastminute goal from Antonio Folha. In He managed to win easily, with his wind assisted second round ef-Croatia, while at Windsor Park, Northern Ireland ended 1-1 with Germany.

Meanwhile Wales began their World Cup qualifying campaign in Marks Hughes got two goals while lng form of last year in the each each

OP marksmen from the Premiership will provide the firescraped through to the semi-finals England's campaign in Euro 96 which gets of the competition by beating Glamunder way on Saturday. Terry Venorgan at Cardiff. Dermot Reeves's ables announced the squad a few side were bowled out for 239 in 48.5 overs but, despite an aggressive knock of 75 by Glamorgan captain Matthew Maynard and 68 by Ottis Gibson, the home side failed to reach their target by just 12 runs, Reeves picking up three wickets for 39. At Old Trafford, Gloucestershire (158) were defeated by Lancashire by five wickets. In the other matches Northamptonshire (293-7, Rob Bailey 105no) defeated Kent by 23 runs at Northampton, and Surrey (229) were swamped by Yorkshire by nine wickets (David Byas 116no) at The Oval. The semis will provide a Roses clash between Lancashire and Yorkshire while Warwickshire

vill meet Northamptonshire.

A LAN MULLALLY, Leicester-shire's left-arm fast bowler, Min atel, a left-arm spinner who plays for Kent, and the Essex all-rounder Ronnic frani are the three uncapped players called up to the England squad for the first Test with India starting at Edgbaston this week. There are recalls for Nasser Hussain, Nick Knight and Chris Lewis. The full squad is: Atherton, Knight, Crawley, Thorpe, Hick, Hussain, Irani, Russell, Lewis, Cork, Martin, Mullally and Patel,

TIM LAMB, the former Oxford University, Middlesex and Northamptonshire pace bowler, is to be the Test and County Cricket Board's next chief executive. The 43-year-old Lamb will succeed Alan Smith in November — moving up a rung from his present post of TCCB secretary. The TCCB chose him ahead of Warwickshire's 51-year-old vice-chairman, Tony Cross.

HE first "Ryder Cup" for stu-dents will be held in Scotland next year. The Palmer Cup, sponsored by the Arnold Palmer Golf Company, will be played at St Andrews in August. The annual event for teams of eight amateurs will bring together the best young golfers from both sides of the Atlantic for the first time.

WO motorcycle riders, New Zealand's Robert Holden, aged 7, and 28-year-old Briton, Mick Lofthouse, died in separate crashes while warming up during the last day of practice for the Isle of Man TT races. The deaths took the toll this year to three following the death earlier of Aaron Kennedy, from Warwickshire, who fell from a sidecar. Last year three racers were killed injured when a bike ploughed into spectators. A total of 167 competitors have died since the event was first run in 1907,

BARRY FRY, sacked as football manager by a number of clubs - Birmingham City last month became the the latest to fire him made the most important signing of his career last week. He bought Second Division Peterborough United for nearly £1 million and became its owner-manager.

Quick crossword no. 317

legal technicality to get a hand washed out after his side had obtained a less than perfect result.

AST WEEK I described a match | and who knew whether we could

But this was not a normal day, Still better dummy than I deserved:

all three of the top diamond honous or any seven-card dlamond suit. Given that East had opened three

1 Grab (6) 4 Organ symbollaing III humour (6) 8 Proportion (5) Getecrash (7) 10 Liberty (7) 11 Inn (6) 12 Fastening with covered point (6,3) 17 Yellow fruit (6) 19 Conflict of 1899-1902 (4,3) 21 Search -- for jumble? (7) 22 Outsize person or thing (5) 23 Shellfish (of the C 24 Make less resonant (6) 7 It has point and eye (6) Down 9 That cannot be

Bridge Zia Mahmood

in which an opponent used a find a safe haven if I bid?

hearts in first position at gamest. the chances were around 6-1 against. Surely that was not loo much for Nemesis to arrange in order to purish East for his previous ploy? And

boiling because of the previous deal, leapt defiantly (or foolishly) to six clubs. West led the two of hearts, Thirsting for revenge, I picked up these cards at game-all on the re-deal; and my partner put down a much she did! This was the full hand: **4**A3 ♥J65 ♦A97 **♠**A10954 East, the legal eagle on my right, opened the bidding with a pre-emptive three hearts. I had fair **★ K'Q74 ♥** J65 **♥** A 3 ◆ KQ74 **♦ A97 ▼** A 3 108 **• 108** values, but not enough for me to risk ♠KQJ32 ♣ A 10954 entering the auction at this level. ♠KQJ32 I passed, as did West, and my part-Despite partner's excellent trump ner emerged with a takeout double. support and all-round strength, six **•** 109865 clubs appeared to have absolutely What would your call be after a DO DISV at all. A diamond loser and a 9434 heart loser seemed inevitable. **4**86 West North East Desperately, I searched for some miraculous lie of the cards that South Last week's solution **♠** A3 No No Double No would give me any chance at all in this contract. Finally I found a faint **♥** J 65 CUMMBRBUND
LEARAC
KANGAROO YARY
BALUEE
PITY CHALICE
OSAH
WINGEDHORBE ♦ A97 changed (9) i chance, but any chance at all was ◆ A 10954 1 Absolution: if 13 Type of pigeon (7) better than none. Can you see a ray My options were pass, some num-On winning the second round of diamonds, West had no option in short, summar 14 Fresh (of eggs) ber of clubs or, perhaps, a cue bid of of hone before reading on? treatment (6) (3-4) 15 Minister of four hearts. Win the ace of hearts, draw 2 Lady of the to give a ruff and discard, so I made If you gave the hand to a panel of trumps in two rounds, play three top spades discarding a diamond on the third, ruff dummy's last spade and theatre (7) experts, the majority vote would probably be for a pass, and on a normal day that is what I would have done. After all, we ought to beat three liearts by a couple of tricks, religion (6) 3 Mass of water TRICKLE EMIT E A V O A I GLUE HUMIDITY PROMIKENCE my slam. To give East his due, he says he 16 Positively charged particles (6) funny side — so I resisted the temptation to ask if he wanted 5 Settle (a querrel) particle (6) 18 Copy (5) (5,2) 6 Gloat (5) 20 Bird of prey (5) another re-deall